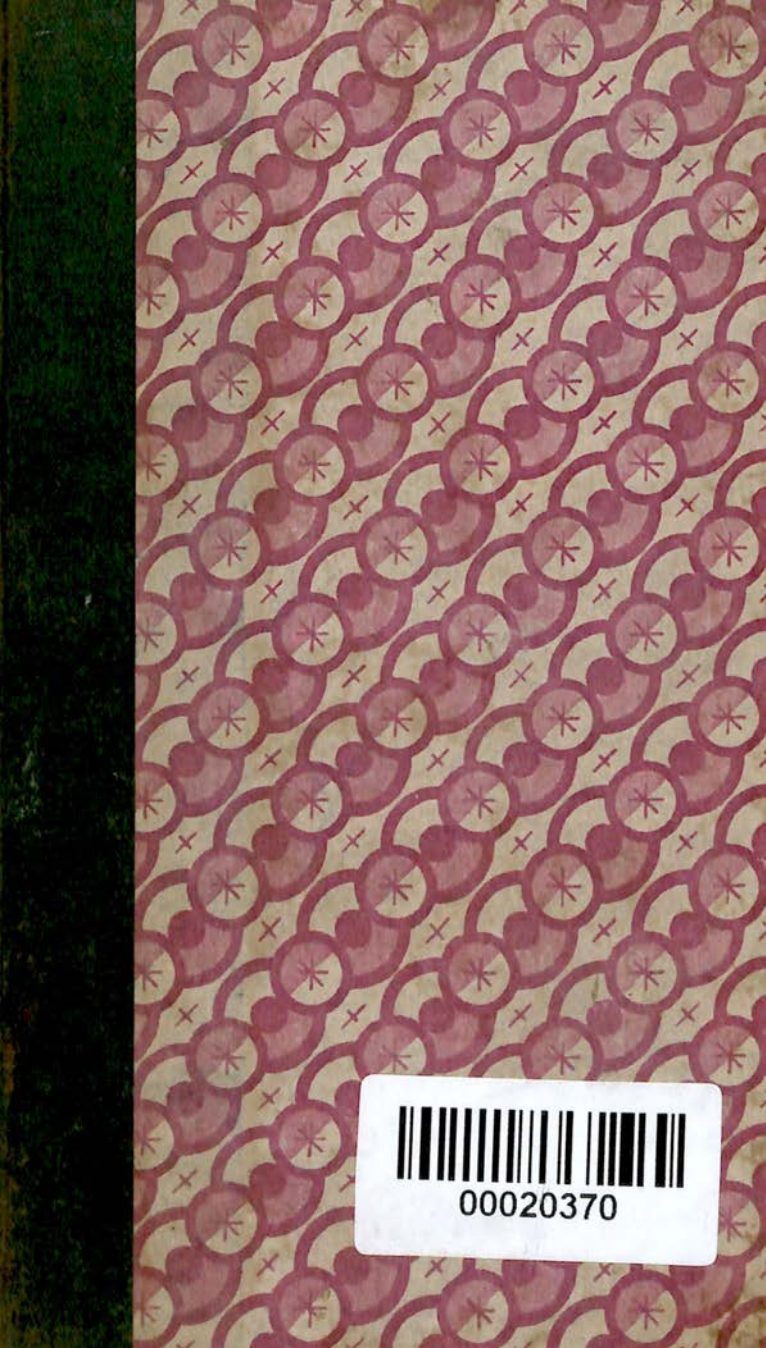

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# HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

# CARDINAL PACCA,

PRIME MINISTER TO PIUS VII.

Written by Himself.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN,

BY SIR GEORGE HEAD,

AUTHOR OF 'ROME: A TOUR OF MANY DAYS.'

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

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# CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.


## CHAPTER XII.

Visit of the Cardinal to Paris — Presentation at the Court of the Emperor Napoleon, and Return to Fontainebleau . . . Page 1

## CHAPTER XIII.

Observations relating to the Concordat — Recapitulation of preliminary circumstances — Views of Napoleon with regard to the Roman Catholic Church — Character of Pius VII. — His position at Savona — His Letter to Cardinal Caprara — Napoleon convenes an Ecclesiastical Council — Proposes Queries to Council — Their Answers — French Bishops address a Letter to the Pope — The Pope protests by Brief against the Proceedings of Council — Violent Measures of Napoleon in consequence — Another Meeting of Ecclesiastical Council — Napoleon proposes Queries — The Answers — Napoleon summons to his presence a Committee of Members of the Council — Addresses them in a Speech — Reply of the Abbé Emery — Circular Letter of Napoleon summoning the Bishops of France and Italy to a General Council — Deputation of Bishops dispatched to the Pope at Savona — Concession of the Pope — Meeting of General or National Council — Proposal of Napoleon to the Council — Their unsatisfactory Reply — Napoleon suddenly dissolves the Council, and imprisons three Bishops — The Ministers summon the Bishops separately to an oral Conference — Reassembling of the Council — Their Decree — Deputation dispatched with the Decree to the Pope at Savona — Intrigues of French Government — Further Concessions of the Pope — Circumstances relating to the Pope's removal from Savona to Fontainebleau . . . . . 28

## CHAPTER XIV.

Negotiations of Napoleon after the Russian Campaign with Pius VII. at Fontainebleau — Visit of the Emperor and the Empress to his Holiness — The Pope signs the Concordat — Letter from Napoleon to the Pope on the subject of the latter — Consultation of the Cardinals — The Cardinals advise the Pope to nullify the Concordat — Letter of the Pope to the Emperor in consequence — Allocution of the Pope to the Cardinals — Arrest of Cardinal Di Pietro, and other measures taken by Napoleon in consequence of the Pope's Retractation of the Concordat — Allocution to serve as a Protest delivered by the Pope to the Cardinals . . . . . Page 135

## CHAPTER XV.

Palace of Fontainebleau — Inhabitants of the City — Manner of Life of the Pope and Cardinals — Society of Jesuits — Communication to the Pope from Bordeaux — Answer of His Holiness to a Letter from the Empress Maria Louisa — Credulity of French Authorities — Letter from the Pope to the Emperor of Austria — Two Letters from the Pope to the Papal Nuncio at Vienna — Progress of Allied Armies — French Government attempt to renew Negotiations with the Pope — Removal of the Pope from Fontainebleau — Pope's Valedictory Address to the Cardinals — Removal of Cardinal Pacca to Uzès in Languedoc — Letter of Minister of Police to the Cardinal — Letter of Ministre des Cultes to the Cardinal . . . . . 214

## CHAPTER XVI.

Journey from Fontainebleau to Uzès in Languedoc . . . 282

## CHAPTER XVII.

Residence at Uzès . . . . . 306

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Departure from Uzès, in consequence of the entrance of the Allied Armies into Paris — Arrival in Italy, and Return to Rome . . Page 350

## CHAPTER XIX.

Apologetic Letter, &c. from Lieutenant-General Radet to Pope Pius VII., relating to the part borne by the General in the abduction of Pius VII. and Cardinal Pacca from Rome, and giving an account of their journey . . . . . 384

APPENDIX . . . . . 429

# HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

# CARDINAL PACCA.

## CHAPTER XII.

Visit of the Cardinal to Paris — Presentation at the Court of the Emperor Napoleon, and Return to Fontainebleau.

" Siede Parigi in una gran pianura,
Nell' ombelico di Francia, anzi nel cuore." [1]

So soon as I caught sight of this immense city I felt an unaccountable shivering and horror within me, as I recalled to my memory the evils that had thence for several years past accrued to the Church, and the numerous irreligious works which had infested Europe, concocted and poured forth into the world from her infernal work-

[1] Ariosto, ' Orlando Furioso,' Canto xiv. Stanza 104.—" Paris stands on a vast plain on the navel, nay, even in the heart of France."

shop. Recapitulating, moreover, the iniquitous edicts and ambitious invasions of the overbearing Parisian Government, and whispering to myself the words of the Divine Redeemer at his last entrance into Jerusalem, though firmly persuaded that sooner or later the punishment of Heaven would fall upon her city, I certainly then was unable to foresee that, within the short period of thirteen months from that moment, her pride would be subdued, and that the same Prussians, Russians, and Austrians, who had seen the capitals of their own nations occupied by French troops, would come, to avail myself of a common social phrase, personally to pay Paris a visit.

I took up my habitation in a street called Rue de Grenelle, belonging to the faubourg S. Germain, and was lodged in the grand berzolle, a sort of establishment that the French call *hôtel garni*. The same evening I saw some of my colleagues, who had come to Paris for the purpose like myself, of being presented to the Emperor, and were afterwards about to rejoin the Holy Father at Fontainebleau.

The next day, the 21st of the month, being Sunday, I went in the morning to hear mass in the neighbouring parochial church of S. Thomas d'Aquinas. The church was full of people, and I observed that the greater portion

were persons of distinction, by whose decent conduct and devout behaviour while the mass was sung, and during the sermon, I was much edified. I took notice particularly that out of every hundred persons not less than ninety were women, an observation which I found subsequently confirmed by experience over the whole tract of country I had occasion to travel through in France in the course of the ensuing year, when I invariably met with a similarly prevailing proportion of devout females in the churches. I had also reason to remark the extraordinary liberty of speech the preacher ventured to use, taking for the subject of his discourse the retributive chastisements that Heaven ordains as a punishment for the profanation of the sacraments; among the instances cited, he enumerated, turning at the same time in the pulpit towards myself, "the grievous misfortunes that had of late years afflicted the Church;" which latter part of the proposition, the more particularly likely, under present circumstances, to be taken in a sinister sense by the government, was not only uttered (be it remembered) in a church in Paris, but within a very short distance from the Tuileries where Napoleon was at the time residing. From the church of S. Thomas d'Aquinas, after the service was over, I went to the house of the Comte Bigot de

Premeneu, Ministre des Cultes, for the purpose of arranging with him the time of my presentation to their Imperial Majesties. Monsieur de Premeneu was not at home, so I left word with the servant concerning the object of my visit. The same evening one of the minister's attendants waited on me at my hotel with a message on the part of the minister, requesting me to appear the next morning, I forget the hour precisely, at the Tuileries, and there Monsieur Bigot would, he said, present me to the Emperor.

The next morning, the 22nd, I went accordingly, at the hour appointed, to the Tuileries, and was conducted into a large apartment, which I should rather call a hall, where were assembled several of the Emperor's ministers, some military officers of high rank, and the Archbishop of Tours; all of whom had come to attend the Sovereign of France at his first appearance in the morning, which ceremony formerly was entitled the "Lever du Roi," and was at present called the "Lever de l'Empereur," an expression that signifies the first sallying forth from the royal bedchamber. A short time after I had entered the chamber, while I was looking with my eyes fixed upon the door that opened into the apartments of Napoleon, I heard, with somewhat of a palpitating heart, the announcement of the Emperor's presence, and at the

same time, or a moment afterwards, he appeared, dressed in a very simple uniform, coming out of the room adjoining. He at once advanced into the middle of the hall, where we were all assembled, and having, with a rather savage-looking expression of countenance, thrown a sweeping glance along the circular line of persons in the room, he came near to where I was standing, and stopped five or six yards from me.

Then the Ministre des Cultes, who was standing close to me, told him "that I was the Cardinal Pacca." The Emperor, with a serious look, having first repeated the words "Cardinal Pacca," advanced one pace nearer towards me, and then immediately assuming a considerably more benign cast of features; "Pacca," said he, addressing himself to me, "*have not you been a little bit in the fortress?*"[1]

"Three years and a half, Sire," I replied.

Upon which he bent his head a little towards his chest; and at the same time making a motion with his right hand on the open palm of his left to imitate writing, apparently with the intention by such an action of justifying my sentence of imprisonment before the per-

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[1] Pacca, siete stato un pezzo in fortezza?

sons present, "*Was it not you,*" said he, "*who wrote the Bull of Excommunication?*"[1]

In answer to this, neither thinking it opportune nor expedient to urge anything in my own defence, for fear of bringing upon myself, perhaps, some rabid invective, I made no reply; upon which Napoleon, seeing I was silent, added, "*but now we must forget all that has passed,*"[2] alluding to the tenth article of the Concordat of Fontainebleau, where the Emperor promises to restore to his favour the cardinals, bishops, priests, and laymen, who had incurred his indignation on account of circumstances which I need not just now recapitulate.

Finally, Napoleon asked me "*of what country I was a native?*"

To which I answered "Benevento."

He then passed on, and seeing Cardinal Consalvi, who stood next to me, "*This is Consalvi,*" said he; "*I know him.*"

He asked Consalvi *where he had lately been?*

To which the Cardinal answered "*Rheims.*"

"*A good city,*" he replied; and then, without saying

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[1] Voi avete scritta la bolla della Scommunica?

[2] Ma ora si deve tutto dimenticare il passato.

another word, continued walking the round of the circle, and saying a few words to everybody as he went along. After all I had apprehended to encounter at the interview, I had every reason to be content with its termination; and when it was over, was truly glad, to avail myself of a vulgar phrase, to have come off so cheap. I partly attributed the behaviour of the Emperor, which could not be called discourteous, to the opinion that he probably entertained of the influence I possessed over the mind of the Pope, upon whose co-operation he still mainly relied for the final execution of the Concordat.

In the afternoon of the same day, at four o'clock, I was presented, in company with my colleagues, Saluzzo, Galeffi, and Consalvi, to the Empress Maria Louisa, who received us very graciously, though the audience was sufficiently brief and insignificant. All four of us then proceeded from the Tuileries, if I remember right, to the church which, before the revolution, was dedicated to S. Geneviève, and afterwards was called by the National Assembly the Pantheon, where were buried the so-called philosophers, the heads of faction, and other persons the most distinguished, in those times of general giddiness and delirium, for a superlative degree of fanaticism. Upon the façade of the church, its destination, engraved in large capital letters, appears as follows: "*Aux grands hommes*,

*la Patrie reconnaissante.*"[1] Among which great men the bodies of Mirabeau and Marat lie shrouded in their sepulchres; and there were also transported hither the infamous bones of the two coryphæi of modern incredulity, Rousseau and Voltaire. The Emperor also decreed to the marshals of France and the members of the French Senate a similar privilege; and subsequently, on the occasion of the cardinals being summoned to Paris, where Napoleon had determined in his own mind that their and the Pope's residence should be for the future, he included the members of the Sacred College in the same category. In fact eventually, when the Cardinals Caprara, Erskine, and Vincenti died in the capital, their mortal remains were actually placed in the above-mentioned good company. For my own part, after having taken a hasty glance at the church, which appears remarkable for a considerable degree of irregularity in the architecture, I walked out of it, absolutely horrified at the idea, that, if it should please the Lord I should end my days in Paris, my ashes would inevitably be carried to this very ante-chamber of the devil, and deposited there.

During the following days that I remained at Paris,

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[1] To great men, the grateful nation.

namely, the 23rd, the 24th, the 25th, and the 26th, I passed my time in observing all the various objects that justly claimed the attention of a not idle traveller. The bombastic eulogies nevertheless, and the eloquent descriptions of the grand city, that from my early youth I had heard from Frenchmen, and even from several Italians who had made the journey to France, had created an exaggerated picture in my mind which, on contemplating the reality on the spot, was by no means verified. I found, in fact, that, in comparison with the ideas I had formed, I had for the most part overrated everything. Having lived a long time in Rome, and having also made several long stays at Naples, there was nothing, at all events, in the appearance of Paris, viewed in its exterior, calculated to surprise me. For example, the houses and the shops are not to be compared to those of Naples, much less to those of Rome; and, generally speaking, the circuit of everything that claims the attention of the traveller may briefly and easily be made in Paris, while in Rome, many, many successive months passed in continually driving round the city, are an insufficient period to enable a person even to acquire a tolerable idea of the principal objects of modern art and the antiquities that excite the admiration of foreigners. Regarded as a city of plea-

sure, Paris, with her multitudes of inhabitants in a continual state of movement by day and by night, and the abundance of *nouveautés* in the markets, in the shops, and in the squares, is even in those particulars little inferior to Naples. There are notwithstanding in Paris many long and beautiful streets, and among these are two worthy to be mentioned which line the opposite banks of the Seine, and are called *quais*. There are also several fine bridges over the river of a good style of architecture. The Place Vendôme is a beautiful piazza, in the middle of which is a column erected by Bonaparte; it is constructed in imitation of Trajan's column at Rome, and similarly ornamented with bass-relief sculpture, representing the principal battles and military enterprises of the Emperor. At the period in question the statue of Napoleon, which was afterwards taken down at the entrance of the allied troops into Paris, was to be seen on its summit. I visited the metropolitan church called "de Notre Dame," which, although large, did not however appear to me large enough in proportion to the vast size of the capital, and in the sacristy they showed me the mantle that Napoleon wore at the solemn ceremonial of his coronation, and they showed me also the cushions, seats, and other articles that on the same occasion were appropriated

to the use of the Pope. At the sight of these objects I recalled to my recollection the passage in the Holy Scriptures—

"*Let that day be darkness; let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it.*"[1]

Among other great edifices that I saw in my excursions were the house and church "des Invalides," built in the reign of Louis XIV., that would make a good figure even in Rome, especially its fine façade. The same also may be said of the Louvre, built at the same period; also of the Palais de Justice, the building where they administer justice in civil and criminal cases; and of the palace of the Luxembourg: in which latter building I saw with pleasure, in one of the large apartments, several large pictures, with figures of the natural size, painted by the celebrated Rubens, representing events in the life of the famous Queen of France, Maria of Medicis. I also was much gratified at the sight of the Jardin des Plantes, including an enclosure containing wild animals.

Determined as I was not to quit Paris without first seeing the Museum and Library of Napoleon, I went thither also; though the pleasure I experienced here

[1] Job iii. 4.

by the sight of so many fine things collected together was not a little embittered by perceiving many objects of antiquity, chefs-d'œuvre in painting and sculpture, and precious manuscripts, which, exhibited in token of glorious trophies of the victories of the French in Italy, had been taken from Rome. The collection of pictures, although crowded together promiscuously as in a magazine, and for the most part placed in bad lights, was surprising, both for the number and beauty of the objects, which altogether comprised everything in the way of painting, most esteemed of its kind, on canvas and on wood, that had been collected from Italy, Flanders, Holland, and a great portion of Germany. The museum of marble statuary was not so abundantly furnished as the picture gallery, but the articles had almost exclusively been transported from Rome and Florence; in fact, upon the pedestals of a great many of the statues, and also upon several of the vases, the well-known inscription, "Munificentiâ Pii VI." was prominently visible. At that moment an exile, and in an unhappy state of uncertainty with regard to my future lot, I was very far from imagining, that in the same period of the season the last week in February, three years afterwards, I should, in company with several members of my own family, attended by persons of note in the belle

arti, namely, Canova, Camuccini, Stern, &c., re-visit in Rome those identical chefs-d'œuvre which subsequently were restored to their places in the Museo Pio Clementino. In the library I saw some exceedingly rare manuscripts that had been taken from the Vatican, and from various other countries; among the rest the original manuscript of Telemachus by the immortal Fénelon, in which I observed with surprise and admiration, considering the style of this elegant work is so florid and harmonious, a proof of the extreme facility with which that great man composed, inasmuch as the author's alterations were extraordinarily few, frequently consisting only of single words. The librarian also showed me a highly valuable manuscript, comprising a collection, bound together in one book, of all the loose pieces of paper on which Pascal wrote his celebrated Reflections. Opening the volume at hazard, the first of the reflections that chanced to meet my eyes—whether or not it was ever committed to the press with the rest I cannot say—was, "La force est la reine du monde."[1] Turning round to the librarian, I could not refrain from smiling, and saying to him, "Of this proposition the

[1] Force is queen of the world.

greater part of the manuscripts you have shown me to-day are a sufficient proof."

With regard to the inhabitants of Paris, for I have now nothing more to add relative to the *matériel* and the external appearance of the city, few, indeed, during the brief period of my visit were the opportunities afforded me of mixing with the general classes, nor, in fact, did it happen to me to have intercourse with any of them, save a few of the nobility and the clergy. I have every reason to believe notwithstanding, that the society of the Parisians and of the French provincials who live in the city, and form the upper circles, since they comprise the very flower of the nation, and are persons the most distinguished by birth, the most influential from their official position, and the most pre-eminent in science and in the arts, is in the highest degree elegant, instructive, and agreeable. At all events it must occur invariably, as may readily be imagined, that persons of the most brilliant genius flock together to the capital of a kingdom from all parts of its provinces, whether for the purpose of establishing for themselves a reputation, of procuring the advantages of honours and distinctions, or of otherwise improving their condition; meanwhile the few people with whom I had conversation were of gentle manners, and their lan-

guage, evincing no superficial degree of culture, was such as I believe may fairly be said to exemplify the general state of education among the grades of Parisian society. Among others I made an acquaintance with two gentlemen, by name Montmorency Laval, nephews of the late Cardinal of that name, and cousins of the Vicomte Montmorency of whom I have spoken more than once already; and also in the Maison de Santé, a sort of prison less strict in its discipline than all the other prisons in Paris, I met with the worthy and amiable youth, Jules de Polignac, since a peer of France.

The opportunity of perambulating Paris, and in making the circuit of the city, of observing everything the most remarkable and the most worthy of a traveller's attention, would, at any other time and under any other circumstances, have been to me an unusually agreeable privilege, but, on the present occasion, distracted in mind as I was with regard to trouble before me and depressed in spirits by the sufferings of my recent imprisonment, it turned out to be one of the casual, unexpected favours of fortune of which I was totally unable to avail myself of the full advantage. On the contrary, at almost every step I made, there appeared before my eyes some object calculated to arouse in my mind melancholy reminiscences and ex-

cite a feeling of sadness, that increased more and more as I involuntarily exclaimed to myself all the way I went— "This is the place where stood the great edifice called the Temple, since demolished by the Emperor, where the royal family were imprisoned." "By this street the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, sitting beside the executioner, was conducted in a cart to the guillotine." "In this square the good Louis XVI. was decapitated." "Within the walls of this church a multitude of venerable priests were barbarously put to torture and afterwards murdered."

But of all the reflections, that which, under the present state of my mind, was the most sad and heart-rending, arose from the anticipation of the part I was destined to bear among the cardinals, whose sittings, in consequence of the conclusion of the Concordat, were, in the course of a few days, about to take place at Fontainebleau. With reference to which lamentable subject, and relating to matters that I shall very soon have to touch upon, I will here introduce an exact copy of the Concordat, which I procured, before I left the metropolis, from one of my colleagues:—

"His Majesty the Emperor and King and His Holiness, being desirous to put an end to the differences that have existed between them, and to provide against the

difficulties that, in many instances, have arisen in the affairs of the Church, have agreed to the following articles, intended to serve as the basis of a definitive adjustment:—

"ART. I. His Holiness shall exercise the functions of the Pontificate in France and in the kingdom of Italy in the same manner and under the same forms as his predecessors.

"ART. II. The ambassadors, ministers, and chargés d'affaires of foreign powers residing at the court of the Holy Father, as well as the ambassadors, ministers, and chargés d'affaires of the Pope residing at foreign courts, shall enjoy the immunities and privileges enjoyed by other members of the corps diplomatique.

"ART. III. The dominions, or, in other words, the immovable property, heretofore possessed by the Holy Father and *unalienated*, shall be exempt from every species of imposition, and shall be administered by his agents or by other persons entrusted with the management of his affairs. Those portions, on the contrary, at present *alienated*, shall be replaced by the yearly revenue of two millions of francs in compensation.

"ART. IV. Within six months after the regular notification of the names of the archbishops and bishops of the empire and of the kingdom of Italy nominated

by the Emperor, the Pope shall give canonical institution, according to the articles herein contained and by virtue of the present covenant.[1] Previous information shall be given by the metropolitan. In case the Pope, at the expiration of the above-mentioned period of six months, shall have failed to grant the institution, the metropolitan, and failing the metropolitan, or, in the case of the metropolitan being himself the nominee, the oldest bishop of the province shall proceed to institute the bishop nominated, in such a manner that the see shall never remain beyond the space of one year vacant.

"ART. V. The Pope shall nominate to ten bishoprics, whether in France or in Italy, as shall hereafter be mutually agreed upon.

"ART. VI. The six suburban bishoprics shall be re-established, and the Pope shall have the nomination. The property actually existing shall be restored, and for the property sold an equivalent shall be given. After the death of the Bishops of Anagni and Rieti, their dioceses shall be united to the above-mentioned six bishoprics, in conformity with a plan that shall be agreed upon between his Majesty and the Holy Father.

"ART. VII. With regard to the bishops of the Roman

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[1] Conformemente ai concordati, e in virtù del presente indulto.

States who, in consequence of present circumstances, may be absent from their dioceses, the Holy Father shall be at liberty to exercise in their favour his right of giving bishoprics *in partibus*. A pension shall be given to them, equal to the revenue which they enjoyed previously, and they shall be appointed to vacant sees either within the empire or in the kingdom of Italy.

"ART. VIII. His Majesty and his Holiness shall hereafter, at their leisure, take into their consideration the necessity of making a reduction in the number of bishoprics in Tuscany and in the States of Genoa. The same with regard to the establishment of bishoprics in Holland and in the Hanseatic Departments.

"ART. IX. The Propaganda, the Penitenzieria, and the archives, shall be established at the place of the Holy Father's residence.

"ART. X. His Majesty restores to his favour the cardinals, the bishops, the priests, and the laymen who, on account of *actual occurrences*,[1] had incurred his displeasure.

"ART. XI. The Holy Father persuades himself to comply with the above-mentioned dispositions, in consideration of the actual state of the Church, and from

[1] Avvenimenti attuali.

the confident hope with which his Majesty has inspired him, that his Majesty will grant his protection and provide for the numerous exigencies of religion, consequent upon the times in which we live."

It were impossible to describe the sinister impression and extraordinarily powerful effect produced by the publication of this Concordat. It rendered the good Catholics of Paris inconsolable. Many of the Parisian ladies who previously looked upon the Pope as a saint, and always kept his picture at the head of their bed, immediately took down the portrait; and some, especially wrought upon by their national vivacious temperament, that we Italians call *furia Francese*, became excited to such a degree that they actually tossed it into the fire. All over the provinces, notwithstanding that the French government caused the conclusion of the Concordat to be announced in all the churches by a solemn *Te Deum*, the people would not believe it; and particularly in the portion of the country that I traversed a year subsequently, in my journey from Fontainebleau to Uzés in Languedoc, the universally established opinion of the people was, that it was a new imposture of the government. Such also was the general opinion in Germany and in Italy. In Rome the news of the Concordat was received with hisses and

laughter, and, on hearing the articles, many, repeating the saying common among the Romans, with reference to anything which is not only false but impossible, exclaimed, "We will go directly to the Ghetto, and make ourselves Jews if it be true." In fact, the Roman people were firmly persuaded that the Pope had never approved this strange convention; and even when there arrived from France letters from persons worthy of implicit confidence, stating that they themselves had actually seen the Pope's own signature affixed to the document, many formed an ingenious method to explain away the contradiction, by imagining that the Holy Father, previous to being arrested and carried away from Rome, left with Signor Domenico Sala, Prefect of the Componenda of the Dataria, several of his pontifical signatures in blank, for the purpose of being made use of in current matters of business; and that the French, when they arrested and sent Signor Sala to Fenestrelle, got possession of the sheets of paper containing the above-mentioned blank signatures, and inscribed the articles of the pretended Concordat upon one of them, in such a manner as to make the world believe that the Pope had approved the articles and had signed the paper with his own hand.

In the course of my narrative I shall have occasion to

expose the deceitful artifices and the contrivances that were had recourse to to induce, and, as it were, to compel the most worthy Pontiff to make such strange concessions; who, notwithstanding, under such circumstances as I shall relate, deserves rather compassion than censure. I shall also have to lay before the public his humble, ingenuous, apostolic letter to the Emperor Napoleon containing his retraction of the Concordat, and to record many other highly virtuous acts performed by him, that under the melancholy position of affairs then existing, will serve not only to wash away the stain of that convention, but actually did acquire for him such a glorious reputation, that a year afterwards, on the occasion of traversing a great part of France and Italy, he was received every where with the greatest demonstrations of respect and veneration amid the enthusiastic shouts of the people. The Parisians, who under circumstances the most serious, and even in the midst of misfortune, never fail to find matter for a *plaisanterie,* took an opportunity on the occasion in question to put in circulation a play upon words of the description they call "*calembour*," and such as we call "*equivoco.*" Taking for their subject the visible expression of disapprobation and shame, produced by the articles subscribed by the Pope, on the faces of the

Cardinals, they observed, in joint allusion to their blushing countenances, and to the permission at the same time granted by the Emperor to the Cardinals called *black*, to resume their ordinary costume of *red*, "Le Pape a conclu avec l'Empereur un Concordat qui a fait rougir les Cardinaux." The point of the phrase here depends on the word *rougir*, which in the French language means either to grow red, or to tinge with a red colour, and may be thus rendered very nearly in Italian,—"Il Papa ha conchiuso coll' Imperador un Concordato che ha fatto diventar rossi i Cardinali."[1]

In spite of the melancholy thoughts that during my short residence in Paris kept me in a continual state of inquietude, there were some other sources whence I had the happiness to derive not a little consolation. I learnt from many persons' testimony, and can myself corroborate the fact, that in this celebrated capital, where the pretended philosophers have held their dominion, and the followers of various sects have flocked together, till they have rendered it, as was said by S. Leo the Great, of pagan Rome, a forest of roaring wild beasts,[2] many thousands nevertheless of good Catholics

[1] The Pope has concluded with the Emperor a Concordat that has made the cardinals turn red.

[2] Silva frementium bestiarum.

were yet existing, who, of exemplary edifying conduct, even during the revolutionary horrors of the times and persecution of Christianity, had maintained their ancient faith in all its purity. With grateful surprise, and with still greater satisfaction, it also came to my knowledge that several gentlemen of the most illustrious families in Paris and in France, who before the revolution were notorious for the open protection afforded by them to the incredulous philosophers and approbation of their irreligious manner of thinking; staggered by the terrible lesson reflected on themselves by political changes, had returned to the duties of religion in good earnest, and, leading the life of Christian men, were then endeavouring to promote the interests of religion and of the Church by all the means in their power.

When I said that I heard the abovementioned fact with grateful surprise, I said so with reason; for during the periods that I was twice nuncio, once in Germany, and again in Portugal, I had had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with several of the French nobility who at that time, in consequence of the well-known calamities of their country, were living in a state of exile and proscription. Very few of the nobility or of the gentlemen of the provinces manifested, I am sorry

to be obliged to say, any sense at all of religion; while some, especially the Parisians, professed the same irreligious maxims that had already brought them to their unhappy condition. They would acknowledge occasionally, in one of their lucid intervals, as it were, that the Altar had carried with it the Throne in its fall, and that the pretended lights of philosophy had excited in the people the new ideas of liberty and equality so fatal to themselves; but they were not by any means disabused of their error, or contented to restrict themselves to merely thinking irreligiously; nay, on the contrary, they endeavoured, even in the foreign countries above mentioned, to disseminate impious maxims in their conversation, and sometimes even to publish in print to the world their perverse, abominable productions. Who in fact can tell whether peradventure the seeds of infidelity sown by them in the hitherto unblemished land of Portugal may not one day or other produce the most bitter fruits to her Church and to her Monarchy!

When I was residing in Cologne, which is the ordinary place of residence of the Pope's nuncios on the borders of the Rhine, there were some emigrant French gentlemen, refugees in the city, at that time desirous of celebrating a religious funeral ceremony in commemoration of the Queen Marie Antoinette. I was in-

vited, and accordingly accepted the invitation, though, as it happened, the solemnity was by no means to be attributed to the sentiment of religion, but was promoted merely in compliance with the common practice of kingdoms and of courts on the occasion of the death of sovereigns. The worthy ecclesiastic who sang the mass composed also a funeral discourse on the subject of the ill-fated queen, in which, in a tone by no means void of eloquence, and replete with good sense, tracing the history of the Revolution, he cited among the first of its causes, as he was fully justified in doing, the irreligious doctrines that had been spread abroad by the so-called philosophers. No sooner, however, had he enunciated this most true and irrefragable proposition, than I heard among the congregation, which was almost exclusively composed of French ladies and gentlemen, a sudden whispering, and as it were a general murmur of disapprobation, until, the sacred orator having elevated his voice and asserted in direct terms and in a clear tone that Marie Antoinette was one of the victims of the modern philosophy, a voice was immediately heard to break forth from among the congregation, and exclaim impertinently, "Ce n'est pas vrai."[1]

1 That is not true.

I was nevertheless agreeably surprised, while I remained in Paris, by receiving intelligence to the effect that, in addition to various establishments of the Sisters of Charity, there were also several religious female communities of barefooted Carmelites, and of Salesian nuns, who inhabited their convents, and there, adopting the habit of their order, strictly followed the regulations of their institute. On one occasion I was invited by a community of the Salesians to say mass in their chapel, and to administer the Eucharist to all the sisters. Going thither accordingly, to say the truth, I could hardly believe my own eyes, when in the midst of that modern Babylon, and under a Government the destroyer of all such religious orders, I found myself surrounded by virgins dedicated to the Lord, dressed in the habits of their institute, and fulfilling the duties of their station. A totally unexpected spectacle, which was therefore the more impressive and touching! * * * On the evening of the 27th of February I left Paris on my return to Fontainebleau.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Observations relating to the Concordat — Recapitulation of preliminary circumstances — Views of Napoleon with regard to the Roman Catholic Church — Character of Pius VII. — His position at Savona — His Letter to Cardinal Caprara — Napoleon convenes an Ecclesiastical Council — Proposes Queries to Council — Their Answers — French Bishops address a Letter to the Pope — The Pope protests by Brief against the Proceedings of Council — Violent Measures of Napoleon in consequence — Another Meeting of Ecclesiastical Council — Napoleon proposes Queries — The Answers — Napoleon summons to his presence a Committee of Members of the Council — Addresses them in a Speech — Reply of the Abbé Emery — Circular Letter of Napoleon summoning the Bishops of France and Italy to a General Council — Deputation of Bishops dispatched to the Pope at Savona — Concession of the Pope — Meeting of General or National Council — Proposal of Napoleon to the Council — Their unsatisfactory Reply — Napoleon suddenly dissolves the Council, and imprisons three Bishops — The Ministers summon the Bishops separately to an oral Conference — Reassembling of the Council — Their Decree — Deputation dispatched with the Decree to the Pope at Savona — Intrigues of French Government — Further Concessions of the Pope — Circumstances relating to the Pope's removal from Savona to Fontainebleau.

HITHERTO my narrative, with the exception of the period of a few days during which I had the honour to accompany the Pope in our melancholy journey to Grenoble, has for the most part almost exclusively had reference to my own personal adventures, and to

matters that can hardly be of importance to any other persons than those private friends and acquaintances who were the principal cause of inducing me to commit the occurrences to paper. A wider field, however, now opens before me, and, as it becomes my duty, I intend briefly, and with the most candid sincerity, to relate the events which led to the conclusion of the Concordat, including several circumstances which, less known, though of considerably more importance, immediately preceded the Pope's retractation and his annulment of the same Concordat at Fontainebleau. There are no doubt some persons who will altogether disapprove of my thus making, with regard to the great Pontiff, Pius VII., an ingenuous recital of those actions that cost him many bitter tears, for fear of the stain which might thence fall on his reputation; flattering themselves at the same time that his errors might otherwise remain concealed for ever, or, if reproduced before the world in the lapse of time, might appear blended in the huge general mass of historical falsehoods. But, in my opinion, whoever forms such a conclusion will deceive himself. The real circumstances relating to the conclusion of the ill-omened Concordat of Fontainebleau were certainly not known to the people at large, neither in France nor in any part of

Italy; and the articles which it contained were so strange and so antagonistical to the discipline of the Church, that, as I have before stated, the document was generally believed to have been fabricated for political purposes by the French Government. But a year or two afterwards the truth came to be discovered, when the slanderers of Pius VII. malevolently proclaimed to the world in the public journals an account, corroborated by the necessary authentic documents, of the concessions made by that Pontiff both at Savona and at Fontainebleau. For example, Monsignor de Barral, Archbishop of Tours, a principal agent of the French Government in those unfortunate negotiations, published a book, entitled 'Fragmens relatifs à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique des premières Anneés du XIX Siècle,' of which the concessions made by Pius VII. at Savona form the principal topic. There were also, in addition to the above, more documents printed, by one or other of Napoleon's ministers; though the publications which, with reckless circumstantiality exceeding all the rest, laid the whole matter bare before the public, were the production of those French ecclesiastics who, having set their faces against the former Concordat of the year 1801, and having remained ever since disobedient and deaf to the voice of Pius VII., then took an opportunity to press their imprudence and audacity to

the extreme point of actually accusing the Pontiff of error in his doctrine, and of having fallen into heresy.

But the malignity of these censorious persons did not allow them to notice the fraudulent, vexatious machinations which were put in practice to persuade and even to force the Pontiff to make the concessions in question; neither have they stated how pure and holy were his intentions, even in the granting those very points likely to prove prejudicial to the Church; nor, finally, have they made any mention of the numerous demonstrations of sincere repentance which he exhibited after the consummation of the act, or of his edifying, heroic tone of humility that moved even to tears the members of the Sacred College, and replenished their hearts with redoubled affection and respect for their august head. These in fact are the principal points which it is now my intention to elucidate in the ensuing portion of my narrative. I might have found means, had I pleased, to imitate the painter who, on making the portrait of some great personage with a defect in his eye, took occasion, as it is said, to invent the profile, and to delineate exclusively the portion of the countenance void of defect; but I have not chosen to do so, inasmuch as it is not my object by writing to draw a panegyric on Pius VII., but to leave sincere and truthful documents for the edification of the future

historian. When that great man Cardinal Pallavicini was accused of having, in his 'History of the Council of Trent,' recorded the failings and censurable actions of a Pontiff to whose learning and piety he had on the other hand paid due justice, he justified himself of the imputation in a letter written to the Marchese Giov. Luca Durazzo, dated 2nd March, 1658, as follows:— "The historian," he says, "is not a panegyrist, but, by using less praise, praises a great deal more effectually than any panegyrist whatever."

On the same principle, I will venture to say in the present instance that the perusal of the following pages will show the virtues of Pius VII. in a clearer light than all the pompous funeral eulogies and panegyrics composed after his death. The speaker of such oratorical, laudatory compositions not unfrequently receives the very full amount of reward due to his eloquence, while at the same time his eulogies, on the contrary, are circulating at a heavy discount, and the truth, whatever it may be, and which I will now speak at once and with sincerity, is always certain to make its appearance at a sooner or a later period. The inspired writers of the Old Testament have for our instruction and guidance laid before the world with admirable simplicity the vices and failings of the Pa-

triarchs and other holy personages, in order, as is remarked by S. Ambrose, "that we should know them, not as beings of a higher order of nature than ourselves, but as men of more observant minds; not as men unacquainted with vice, but as men of amended habits."[1] With what a degree of ingenuous candour have even the Evangelists described the faults and failings of some of the Apostles, especially of the Prince of the Apostles, S. Peter! To all which examples I might add many more of personages eminent for the sanctity of their lives and their learning, who in their writings have not attempted to conceal the faults of the principal members of the Church and of the greatest men of the age; but the instances that I have already adduced on the subject are perhaps even more than necessary. Let their authority at all events suffice in justification of what I have said of certain French Prelates, and of those Cardinals who, certainly not intending evil, but overpowered by human weakness, rendered almost pardonable by the horribly calamitous circumstances of the times, yielded to the violent assaults of the enemies of the Holy See, and suggested unwise counsels to the Pope.

[1] Cognoscamus illos non naturæ præstantioris fuisse, sed observantioris, nec vitia nescisse, sed emendasse.—Lib. de S. Joseph.

Finally, previous to proceeding with my narrative, and with respect to a point that may probably be urged against me, let me not be accused of vanity and boasting in consequence of having given perhaps a too minute description of the various demonstrations of respect and veneration that I received in France from the worthy French people. It was impossible to have omitted to mention such circumstances, since the acts in question were not offered to myself as to Bartolomeo Pacca, but were rendered by the will of Providence to the honour of the Cardinal's dignity, to the end that the Roman Purple, which the enemies of the Holy See were at that time doing all in their power to depreciate and vilify, should, on the contrary, burst forth again in greater splendour, and, like a new light shining before the eyes of the people, stimulate them to such unequivocal, extraordinary signs of devotion and benevolence. By the faithful recital I have given of the facts above mentioned, ecclesiastics, and all other honest men who may hereafter be hardly used, and be placed under difficult circumstances, will learn, at all events, from the perusal of these pages the useful lesson that the horrors of exile, of sequestration of property, and of incarceration—evils that when threatened appear so formidable in anticipation—are, on the contrary, hardly so to be called in reality; but whenever we are destined to en-

dure such sufferings in the fulfilment of one's proper duties, are deprived of their bitterness, and are largely compensated by various other comfortable blessings of mental satisfaction.

In order to collect the materials which, considering the notices were procured by an eye-witness and participator in the events in question, will form no despicable tribute to the ecclesiastical historians of the nineteenth century, I had much difficulty in providing myself with the information I wanted at Fontainebleau, inasmuch as, in the first place, I had not the heart to interrogate the Pope on a subject which occasioned him such remorse and shame; and as to those Cardinals and a few other persons who had been principally instrumental in bringing the Concordat to a conclusion, they, perceiving that the document at its first appearance met with the general disapprobation of those of their colleagues who had just then returned from banishment, changed their language in a moment, and, instead of pluming themselves as before upon the success of the object they had been engaged in, now plainly said they had borne no part in it. Previous, however, to relating the facts that actually came to my knowledge, it will be necessary to recapitulate as concisely as possible, in order to render the more intelligible what will follow, the principal transactions from

the beginning of Pius VII.'s Pontificate, which took place as well with reference to spiritual as to temporal matters between the French Government and the Holy See.

In the first place, Napoleon Bonaparte never maintained the opinion of the so-called philosophers, legislators of the National Assembly, who imagined that, in order to increase the prosperity and power of France, it was necessary to separate the nation from the Roman Catholic Church, or, to avail myself of the expression of the famous Comte de Mirabeau, "*Decatholiser la France.*" Napoleon, on the contrary, notwithstanding, according to common report at the time, he was urged by his ministers and counsellors to emancipate the French nation from the Pope's authority and declare himself the Head of the Religion, as was done in the sixteenth century by Henry VIII. in England, and by various sovereigns of the North who followed and promoted the sect of Luther, indignantly rejected the proposition, clearly perceiving that such a measure under the altered state of the times was utterly impracticable, and that a sovereign who at the present day should attempt to declare himself the head of the church of his dominions would, instead of obtaining the end proposed, make himself a laughing-stock for his people. Thinking and believing, probably, what

various enemies of the Church have calumniously written of Constantine and of Clovis, namely, that they both embraced Christianity solely for the political purpose of acquiring partisans and supporters among the great multitude of Christians of their period, he, with more craft and deeper sagacity than his counsellors, perceived at once the importance of securing the good-will of the multitudes of staunch French Catholics who were at that period panting with eager anticipation in the hope of seeing the happy moment arrive when the places of worship would be re-opened, the altars newly erected, and France once more in a state of reconciliation with the Roman Church. Consequently, Napoleon, when he became First Consul, steadily bearing in mind the execution of his vast, gigantic designs, under circumstances moreover as favourable for entering into a negotiation with the Holy See as can possibly be imagined, girded himself for the undertaking. At that period, after the fierce persecutions instituted by the so-called Constitutional and Legislative Assembly, the National Convention had committed the execrable excess of abolishing in France every species of religious worship, so that when Napoleon took the reins of government under the title of First Consul, there was neither church nor temple open for the purposes of Christian worship, while the legitimate bishops and the

greater number of the priests were either wandering about the world in foreign countries, or kept themselves concealed in France, and secretly rendered their services to those good Catholics who still remained faithful to the religion of their forefathers.

Under such circumstances, every act that Napoleon performed in favour of religion and of the Holy See was necessarily attributed to himself exclusively, and consequently redounded to his individual honour and glory; in addition to which advantage he was sure that, with regard to his demands relating to Rome and the Pope, the latter would lend a quick and a willing ear, and be disposed to meet his advances in the spirit of concession and condescension. With such anticipations, his first experiment, namely, the Concordat of the year 1801, met with a sufficiently successful result, for by that measure he obtained all he wanted, and it opened for him a way, or at least rendered the road considerably more practicable, to mount to the throne. When he became Emperor, his next object was to summon Pius VII. to Paris, in order that his Holiness might preside at the solemn ceremonial of his coronation, and the Pope accordingly undertaking the journey at the commencement of the year 1804, left Rome on purpose, and, travelling more like a courier than a Prince and Supreme Pontiff, on the 2nd of December,

the day appointed for the grand solemnity, he found himself at Paris.

Napoleon had no sooner so far gained his end by the reconciliation of the French nation with the Roman Church, and by the procuring his own solemn coronation, than he began to prepare for the execution of another project, which till then he had borne in his mind secretly, namely, to possess himself of the dominions of the Holy See, and to change the place of residence of the Pope from Rome to Paris. The latter proposal actually became so generally spoken of at the time and subsequently that I remember, in the year 1813, when I was in Fontainebleau, seeing in a small French book entitled, if I remember right, 'A Guide to Foreigners in the City of Paris,' the notice of the Archiepiscopal Palace cited as follows: "The Archiepiscopal, *now the Papal* Palace." Thus Bonaparte, for the purpose of having the Pope his liege subject, depending on his nod, as the Patriarchs of Constantinople were for some centuries under the Greek Emperors, speculated no doubt upon making use of him as an instrument for carrying into execution the multitudinous ideas of political and religious innovations that lay floating in his mind. From that moment he never ceased to advance new pretensions and to make fresh demands upon the Pope, for the

sole purpose apparently of finding a pretext to come to a rupture with Rome in consequence of the Pope's refusal; and continuing the same line of conduct pertinaciously, he at last let down the visor, and in terms that admitted of no sort of favourable interpretation, made his designs on the Pope's person and the temporal dominions of the Church clear and manifest. In a letter dated Paris, 13th February, 1806, he intimated to the Holy Father Pius VII., to the effect "that Italy ought to be entirely subject to his laws; that for his own part he was desirous," he said, "to respect the independence of the Church, but that, as the conditions, he expected the Pope to entertain the same deference to him in temporal affairs that he himself entertained for his Holiness in spiritual matters;" and finally, he maintained "that the Pope ought to consider the enemies of France as his own enemies, since, notwithstanding his Holiness was the Sovereign of Rome, he, Napoleon, was Emperor."

Pius VII. was completely undeceived by the above letter of Napoleon, from whom, up to that day, he had flattered himself with the hope of obtaining other grand benefits in return for his daily concessions. It was at that period that, having summoned the Sacred College around him, and they having held several general congregations, in pursuance of their counsels, he turned

over a new leaf altogether, and putting at once a full stop to concession, commenced that epoch in his Pontificate that acquired for him so much glory. Shortly afterwards Napoleon actually put in execution his project of making himself Sovereign of Rome and of the States of the Church; and a corps of his army under the orders of General Miollis, as was related in the second chapter of the first volume, took possession of the capital on the 2nd of February, 1808, leaving for the present the Civil Government and the administration of the finances in the hands of the Pope's ministers and of the ordinary tribunals. At this juncture, the Pope, making himself a voluntary prisoner in his palace on Monte Cavallo, resisted by solemn protests all the acts of usurpation that were committed subsequently from day to day by the French Government against his jurisdiction until the memorable 10th of June, 1809, a day remarkable as well for the fulmination of the Bull of Excommunication as for the downfall of the Papal throne, Napoleon having previously, on the 17th of May immediately preceding, signed at Vienna a public decree by which he sacrilegiously united Rome and the remaining portion of the Pontifical dominions to the French Empire. I have also already related in my first volume how the Papal palace was assaulted on the night of the 5th of

July, how the Pope was transported by force of arms to Grenoble in the Dauphiné, and how he resided eleven days in that city, whence he was unexpectedly obliged to depart at midnight, on the 1st of August, and was carried away by Valence and Avignon on his way to Savona. At Savona, Napoleon compelled the Holy Father to remain, and then and there he began to put in execution his design of obtaining what he wanted.

It is necessary here to understand that the Emperor had at that time taken it into his head that Gregorio Barnaba Chiaramonti was a man of inferior talent, little versed in the sciences, and of an extremely weak, timid disposition; consequently he attributed every courageous, firm, vigorous action of his Government not to him, but to the ministers who were about him. Being so persuaded, he formed his plan accordingly as to the manner of dealing with him; and in order in the end to overcome the Pope's opposition, and oblige him to succumb to all his designs, he separated him from his ministers, from his councillors, from every faithful friend able to assist him, and banished him, as above stated, to Savona. When, however, assailing him with fair promises and menaces alternately, he commenced his operations, he found himself by no means so well acquainted with the cha-

racter and moral qualities of Pius VII. as he had imagined, and he experienced in consequence a much more effective course of resistance than he had bargained for.

I who have had the honour of serving Pius VII. as minister, and of being near his person in the years 1809 and 1815, years remarkable, in the course of the political events comprised in both periods, for vicissitudes, whereby scenes of sorrow and misfortune were blended with affairs the most arduous and complicated, ending with glorious triumph, have consequently had an opportunity of observing him under such peculiarly delicate, critical circumstances, as necessarily oblige a man, even in spite of his own will, to expose his true character and manner of thinking. Having therefore attentively studied his character and well knowing his disposition, I can affirm that Pius VII. was a man by no means deficient in talent, nor of a weak, pusillanimous nature; on the contrary, he was of ready wit, vivacious, more than commonly versed in the sacred sciences, and especially possessed that peculiar description of good sound sense that in matters of business intuitively perceives the difficulties to be overcome, and sees everything in its proper light. He was besides, as is well known to everybody, not only

exempt from the strong passions of ambition and self-interest, but also free from those affections of flesh and blood that have obscured the fame of other Supreme Pontiffs, to an extent that gave reason to his people, from the very first days of his elevation to the Holy See, to expect a happy, glorious Pontificate. But among his other excellent endowments there remains to be mentioned one quality, which by some is attributed to an acutely discriminative sense of what is right, and by others is considered a defect. The first view of a matter of business that presented itself to the mind of Pius VII. was invariably the right view, and his first resolutions were always dictated by such exquisite good sense and delicate discernment, that would to God he had always carried them into effect! But if perchance a minister or any other influential person present happened to see the matter in a different light, suggesting at the same time, and resolutely insisting upon a different proposal, then inevitably would the good Pius immediately abandon his own proper opinion and adopt and follow counsels of others that, in the great majority of cases, were infinitely inferior to the dictates of his own mind. Malevolent persons have attributed this peculiarity either to weakness of mind or to an over-earnest desire to enjoy peace and quiet,

while others, reasoning more leniently upon the singular humility and modesty of his nature, imagine it to have proceeded from the low estimate he thought proper to form of himself, and from over diffidence of his own talents and perceptions. Certain it is, that during the period of his Pontificate his public conduct was not marked by a mode of procedure constant and uniform, as the events which I now have in hand to recount successively will clearly show.

Transported to Savona, as before stated, where he was surrounded by attendants and persons of his family who were thoroughly unpractised in political and ecclesiastical affairs, he found himself entirely left to his own resources, and then at once clearly perceived how much better it had been heretofore, if, instead of following the advice of other people, he had always been in the habit of being guided by the lights of his own understanding. No sooner had he arrived at Savona than he was assailed from various quarters by letters from Cardinals and Bishops, containing pressing solicitations to confirm and grant the canonical institution to ecclesiastics nominated by the Emperor to the several vacant churches in France and Italy. These letters were written at the earnest instigation of Napoleon, who was desirous to make the world

believe that he, for his own part, had no intention of introducing any innovations in the affairs of the Church; and that, even after his usurpation of the Ecclesiastical States, and the violent expulsion of the Pope from Rome, the friendly relations with his Holiness had not ceased, and the ties that bound his own vast dominions to the Roman Church and her Supreme Head remained still unbroken. Nevertheless Pius VII., the letters in question not being backed by repeated, pressing importunities of persons at his elbow whom he had been in the habit of giving way to, and being consequently ineffective, stood firm to his previously formed resolution, never to allow the Emperor to nominate to the churches of France and Italy, unless he first received full and proper satisfaction for the infinite acts of violence and outrages that had been inflicted on him by the capture of Rome, by the dispersion of the Sacred College, and by his own expulsion from his See. Taking his ground therefore on these points, he replied to the communications of the persons above referred to with firmness and apostolic dignity. Among the various letters of Pius VII. under the above circumstances, and at the period in question, there is one written to the Cardinal Caprara, Archbishop of Milan, which, as it shows that he clearly

perceived the drift of the proposals which were then making to him, deserves to be recorded *in extenso*. The document, which is dated Savona, 26th August, 1809, and addressed to the Cardinal at Paris, is as follows:—

"We received in this city, on the 19th instant, a letter from your Eminence bearing date the 19th ultimo, in which your Eminence, in quality, as your Eminence assumes, of Archbishop of Milan, expresses the desire of his Imperial Majesty, that the archbishops and bishops nominated by his Majesty to the vacant churches of France should receive from us canonical institution; and your Eminence further declares, that no mention at all need be made of the nominations in our apostolic Bulls, provided we do not explicitly state therein, without alleging any other motive, that we perform the act of our own proper will.

"Surely if your Eminence will be pleased to give the above proposal a moment's reflection, your Eminence cannot but perceive, bearing in mind that the Catholic Church cannot recognise as ministers of her worship persons who derive their authority from the civil power, that our concession, since the proposal comes, as your Eminence states, from the Imperial Chancery, which acts in the name of his Majesty, and

is identical with the Emperor, would be tantamount to recognising the right of the Emperor to make the above-mentioned nominations, and to submitting to its exercise. But how can we, after so many innovations introduced already, against which we have so often, and, as your Eminence knows, so vainly protested; after the acts of violence committed upon various ecclesiastics; after the deportation of so many Bishops and of the greater number of the Cardinals, including Cardinal Pacca imprisoned in Fenestrelle; after the forcible occupation of the patrimony of S. Peter; after we ourselves have been assailed in our own palace and transported by force of arms from place to place, as your Eminence ought to know; after being kept continually ourselves in strict custody, prohibited from having intercourse even with the bishops, otherwise than in occasional instances, in the presence of a third person, and then only as a special favour;—how can we, we repeat, after so many sacrilegious outrages as these, to say nothing of various other acts which it would be too tedious to recite, but against which your Eminence knows that the councils general and constitutional have fulminated anathemas which we have never failed to enforce, recognise such a right of the Emperor as the one above propounded without absolute

prevarication, without contradicting ourselves, and without occasioning a general scandal in the eyes of the faithful, who, were we by such a public measure to approve all that we have hitherto solemnly objected to, would necessarily consider our conduct a betrayal of our proper duty, owing to weariness under present sufferings, and a fear of greater evils in future?

"Let not the question be submitted to carnal prudence, but let it be weighed in the balance of the sanctuary!

"God knows how ardently, even under the present state of affairs, we have desired to give pastors to the vacant churches in France, to which we have already shown many and various tokens of our predilection, and how earnestly we have endeavoured to find the means of doing so in a manner conformable with the circumstances of the times and consonant with our ministry and our duty. But ought we to proceed in a matter of such importance without consulting our counsellors, and how can we consult our counsellors while we are forcibly separated from them? Not only is all manner of free communication at an end between us, but we are even so far deprived of assistance for the dispatch of business as to be left without a secretary! If his Majesty verily and in good faith loves the peace

of the Catholic Church, let his Majesty conciliate the Head of that Church; let his Majesty oppose the innovations in matters of religion, that we have fruitlessly resisted by our remonstrances; let him restore to ourselves our Holy See and our ministers; let him restore to the Apostolic See her dominions, that form not our patrimony, but the patrimony of S. Peter. Finally, let him restore to the faithful their inviolable right of free communication with their Father and Supreme Pastor, of which they are now deprived by our imprisonment; let him restore the cardinals to our bosom, and the pastors to their flocks, and then, indeed, will all things really be restored to the required state of harmony.

" Even in the midst of the disasters of our present painful position we direct our prayers unceasingly to the Almighty, in whose hands are the hearts of men, and the heart of the author of all our misfortunes, which should it please Him to incline to better counsels, we shall consider all our sufferings more than abundantly compensated. But if in His inscrutable judgments such be not permitted, we must content ourselves to deplore, from the bottom of our hearts, all the evils that may happen, of which, though not to be justly imputed to ourselves, we shall, on our own part, leave no means untried to obviate the bad consequences.

" With regard to the imputation cast upon us relating to our unwillingness to separate the temporal concerns of the Church from the spiritual, your Eminence is sufficiently master of the subject to refute the calumny, knowing well that we have not the power to leave the patrimony of the Church undefended, without grievous failure of our duty, without absolutely committing perjury.

" We have received at the same time with your Eminence's letter another letter from Cardinal Maury, and a letter from Monsignor the Bishop of Casale, both which latter communications are on the same subject as the letter of your Eminence. To the Bishop of Casale we have replied by acknowledging the receipt of his letter, and requesting him to communicate with your Eminence, and be guided by this our reply. To the Cardinal Maury we have not yet written, reserving to ourselves the opportunity till we may have leisure to enter into the subject more diffusely than suits our convenience at present. In the mean time your Eminence is at liberty to communicate to Cardinal Maury the sentiments we have herein expressed to your Eminence. We conclude by giving your Eminence our paternal apostolic benediction.

(Signed) " PIUS P. P. VII."

The firmness exhibited by the Holy Father in his reply to the Cardinal Caprara and to the other bishops, as well as various conversations which he had with the Prefect of the Department, contributed to throw the Emperor, who, having separated the Pope from his ministers and counsellors, took it for granted he had compassed all he wanted, into a state of perplexity. Seeing he was for the present frustrated, he then endeavoured to make a party among the cardinals who were residing at Paris, and avail himself of their services towards influencing the mind of the Pope, and obliging him to give way to his wishes; but by this manœuvre meeting with no better success than before, he thenceforward came to the determination of forming a council, comprised of cardinals, bishops, and other ecclesiastics, to whom he proposed to suggest various queries on the matters in dispute, and to obtain their answers thereupon. In addition to his great and principal object of the confirmation of the bishops, Napoleon also had it in contemplation to adjust the general affairs of the Church in such a manner, that the measures taken for the purpose should not only not counteract his other designs, but should even tend to the acceleration of his previous vast projects. Full clearly did he perceive that the Church could not long be allowed to re-

main in a state tending to anarchy, and—as the communication between the faithful and its Supreme Head was closed—without its centre of unity, and without the various tribunals established in Rome, to which, from all parts of the world, reference is continually had in ecclesiastical matters. In like manner he foresaw, that sooner or later he would be obliged, in spite of himself, to restore to Rome its own bishop, either in the person of Pius VII. or of his successor, and to replace the Pontifical See in that city; but at the same time he fancied he would be able to find the means to accomplish both those objects without abandoning his usurped ecclesiastical dominion and the sovereignty of Rome, by obliging the Pope and the Sacred College to renounce their claims in his own favour, and voluntarily to submit to whatever conditions he chose to prescribe.

Napoleon was also desirous of obviating for the future all disputes and controversies in matters of church discipline between the bishops of his empire, among whom he reckoned the Pope himself; on the principle, however, according to the modern mode of thinking, not that the other Churches should follow the doctrine of the Roman Church as daughters and disciples of their mother and mistress, but that the Roman Church, on the contrary, should be forced to subscribe to the doc-

trines of her children. Such being at all events the projects he had in view, in order to prepare the way for the execution of those projects, he actually formed, on the 16th of November, 1809, an Ecclesiastical Council such as was above referred to, composed of the Cardinal Fesch as president, and reckoning as its members Cardinal Maury,[1] the Archbishop of Tours, the Bishops of Nantes, Treves, Evreux, and Vercelli, Monsieur Emery, superior of the hospital of S. Sulpice in Paris, and the Père Fontaine, general of the Barnabites; which latter personage, however, resigned his post after the first meeting, and discontinued his attendance ever afterwards. To this Council, which had their meetings in the house of Cardinal Fesch, the Emperor proposed various queries relating to the affairs of the universal Church, to the Concordat, to the particular privileges of the Gallican Church, and also to the Churches of Tuscany and Germany. To these queries so proposed by the Emperor, the Ecclesiastical Council, after taking some time to deliberate, that is to say, till the beginning of January, 1810, then sent in their answers, which answers certainly were not such as one might have expected, and had a good right to expect, from such illus-

[1] See vol. i. p. 355.

trious, respectable prelates. There does not appear, it is true, in the answer in question, nor even in other similar answers which were given the following year to a fresh set of queries, the criminal schismatic perfidy exhibited in the Greek Church by Acacius and Phocius in the fourth and ninth centuries, or subsequently by Cranmer in England; but, oh! how profoundly did those answers sink below the apostolic language that Athanasius, Hilarius, Basilius, Ambrosius, as well as in more modern times Tencin, Beaumont, and other illustrious French bishops, held to their princes and sovereigns! Justice was certainly rendered to truth in some instances, and in others homage was paid to the principles of sound doctrine; but the repeated eulogies pronounced on the religion, justice, and zeal for the Catholic Church, of a sovereign who had recently usurped that Church's patrimony, and held her Supreme Head prisoner—the calumnious accusation made against the best of pontiffs, as if, for the sake of interests merely temporal, he obstinately neglected his duty in the government of spiritual affairs—the censure expressed in general terms, terms not a little disrespectful, and for the most part unjust and untrue, on the maxims of the Roman Church, and on the conduct of pontiffs—and,

finally, the malicious suggestions offered to Napoleon, with a view to forward his designs, form altogether memorable and notorious points in the above-mentioned answers, that give ample reason to the good French people to desire that among the annals of their illustrious Gallican Church such dishonourable memorials were for ever cancelled.

A few of the queries of Napoleon, which I will now quote in brief, will be sufficient to show clearly the nature of his designs, and serve to the better understanding of the things that follow.

"It is a matter beyond all manner of doubt," (such are his precise words,) "that for some time past the members of the Roman Court have been restricted to a small number of families, and that the affairs of the Church have been there discussed and examined by a few prelates and theologists, natives of the small towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Rome; that such persons, consequently, are not of a stamp capable of thoroughly understanding the grand interests of the Universal Church, and of giving an adequate judgment on its concerns. Would it not therefore be expedient to convoke a council, or, in other words, would it not be well if the Consistory, or Special Council of the

Pope, were composed of such an assemblage of prelates of all nations, as might enlighten[1] his Holiness? Moreover, in the event that it be determined to make no change in the present condition of the Holy See, shall not the Emperor unite in his own person all the rights relating to the nomination of cardinals, and every other prerogative, such as were formerly possessed by the Kings of France and Sardinia, and the Dukes of Brabant and Tuscany?"

Now the above assertion of the Emperor, to the effect that the prelates and theologists composing the Roman Court are all natives of the neighbourhood of Rome, is not founded on fact. There were, for example, at that time members of the Roman Court the Cardinals Pignatelli, Caraccioli, Ruffo, Caraffa, and others, all belonging to illustrious Neapolitan families; the Cardinals Litta, Scotti, Crivelli, &c., were natives of Milan; and the following five Cardinals were of the families of Roman Princes, namely, two Dorias, Mattei, Gabrielli, and Albani; finally, there were several other Cardinals natives of the principal cities of Italy; and even of those who actually were natives of the small towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Rome,

[1] Eclairer sa Saintetè.

there was not one not possessed of sufficient learning and information to regulate and enlighten his conduct in the government of the Universal Church. This query of the Emperor was consequently the means of showing the extent of sagacity whereby the Roman Court have always exercised exquisite judgment in alluring by honours to the Capital the members of the most noble families of the principal cities of Italy. Let the Pontifical Government, however, in future, in choosing the members of their court, never be forgetful of the prelatical dignity, lest any one may hereafter have it in his power to assert with truth what was falsely stated by Napoleon.

To the above query the Ecclesiastical Council replied that "they were of opinion that it was not practicable to convoke a Council, inasmuch as the same point had been already examined at the Tridentine Council, and there the Fathers had determined that their body was incompetent to prescribe laws to the Pope touching his selection of Cardinals; and further, with reference to matters relating to the Universal Church, that a National Council was not authorised to make regulations and canons. Neither could an Œcumenic Council be called together without including among its members the Head of the Church." To this answer, which was

incontrovertibly a wise one, they added, to make it more palatable, "that the Emperor was at liberty to claim from the Pope the nomination of the Cardinals' chaplains, and all the other prerogatives that were attached to the sovereigns of the kingdoms and countries at present united to the French Empire previous to their union."

The most important query of all, which related to the Pope's refusal to confirm the Emperor's nomination of the bishops, was as follows:—"Since," said Napoleon, "the French Government has not failed to observe the conditions of the Concordat, and since in the event of the Pope's refusal to comply with its obligations it is the intention of the Emperor to consider it as cancelled, what steps, in such a case, would it be proper to take for the interests of religion?"

To this query the Ecclesiastical Council, after having stated the various forms of discipline followed by the Church in the election and confirmation of bishops for several centuries, answered by declaring "that their body was composed of too small a number of prelates to be competent to discuss so important a question; they therefore proposed to the Emperor to convoke a National Council composed of all the bishops of the French Empire, who would be competent to examine

the subject, and to suggest means to find a remedy for the evils that might arise from the refusal of the Pontifical Bulls."

This answer by no means satisfied the Emperor, for it did not state explicitly what it was his object to make the Ecclesiastical Council affirm, namely, that a National Council was competent to come to a decision on the points in question; and in case of the Pope's refusal to give the canonical institution, to determine upon another method. Napoleon, accordingly, on receiving the answer, summoned to his presence one of the members of the Council who especially enjoyed his favour, Monsignor Du Voisin, Bishop of Nantes, and told him that the answer appeared to him incomplete, and at the same time he dictated a note or minute which he wished to be communicated to the other members, in order to prove that since the Concordat of 1801 was abolished, the Gallican Church, provided the Pope refused to confirm the bishops, had in themselves the power of substituting another mode of canonical institution. Here was indeed to be admired the pretty spectacle of a young soldier who had passed his life in the army and on the field of battle dictating regulations on ecclesiastical discipline and the government of the Church to a bishop!

The Council, on receiving the Emperor's rejoinder, thought themselves bound to give him a more satisfactory answer, and therefore renewing their previous suggestion to convoke a National Council of all the bishops of the Empire, they declared that "provided the Pope persisted in his determination to refuse to grant bulls for confirming the Emperor's nomination to Episcopal sees, seeing the impossibility of having recourse for the present to an œcumenic council, and considering the necessity of preventing the grave, imminent evils by which the Church of France was menaced, such a council would have authority, acting according to the usual forms of the Church as a provincial council, to substitute for the Pontifical confirmation, canonical institution to be conferred by the metropolitan on his suffragan bishop, or by the oldest bishop of the provinces on the metropolitan, such regulation to be in force until the Pope or his successors might determine to carry into execution the provisions of the Concordat."

Another of the queries submitted to the examination of the Council by the Emperor was as follows: "The Bull of Excommunication dated the 10th of June, 1809, being a document not only contrary to Christian charity, but even subversive of the independence and honour of

the throne, what measure or precautions ought to be adopted in order to prevent Popes in future times of turbulence and calamity from proceeding to such a stretch of their power?"

The answer of the Ecclesiastical Council to this query, as it is given in several French works, particularly in 'Fragmens relatifs à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique des premières années du dix-neuvième siècle,' appears so overcharged with false assertions and rash propositions tending to schism, that I cannot persuade myself it was ever given in the terms in which it is stated by the cardinals and prelates composing the ecclesiastical council. Indeed, the author of the 'Fragmens' says himself in a preliminary note that he cannot vouch for its accuracy. However, the answer, as it stands in print, were it the true one, is a new and humiliating proof of the extraordinary influence of ambition and the spirit of courtiership over persons not less distinguished by their elevated rank than by the depth of their learning.

Another of the queries proposed to the Ecclesiastical Council by the Emperor related to the subject of those articles called "Organici," appended to the Concordat, which the Pope solemnly objected to in the Consistory held on the 26th of May, 1802, and also during his sojourn

at Paris in 1805. The Ecclesiastical Council, notwithstanding the notoriety of the Pope's disapprobation of the articles in question, pretended in their answer, by the use of general terms, to justify a part of the so-called organic articles as being the consequence of the liberty and of the principles of the Gallican church. Consequently they demanded of the Emperor the revocation only of a few of those articles. Among those of the latter category the article numbered XXXVI. was conceived in the following terms :—

" The Vicars-General of the vacant sees shall continue their functions, even after the death of the Bishop, so long as the sees shall remain vacant."

With regard to the above they observed with reason, " That it was contrary to the spirit of the holy canons of the Church, and contrary to the decision of the Tridentine Council, whereby it is established that immediately on the death of a Bishop the episcopal jurisdiction shall devolve by right upon the Chapter of the Cathedral church, to whom belongs the privilege of nominating a Vicar-General to govern the diocese during the vacancy of the see."

It is marvellous to think, that when these prelates made the above remonstrance to the Emperor, the said organic articles had been proclaimed by the Government

ten years previously; but from what I shall state presently, the cause will be clearly seen why they were thus inspired all of a sudden with such a degree of zeal in favour of the Tridentine Canon, and why the Emperor so complacently agreed to revoke the article in question.

Napoleon, when he had received from the Council answers to all his queries, took no further step on the subject for a considerable time, leaving meanwhile to the bishops who were about the person of the Pope the charge of endeavouring to induce him to swerve from the resolution he had formed, not to give the canonical institution to the persons nominated by the Emperor.

A little subsequent to the 25th of March of the same year, nineteen bishops of the French empire conjointly addressed a letter to the Holy Father, in which, although the alleged object of the communication was to request an extension of their privilege of granting matrimonial dispensations, they renewed their importunities on the subject of the confirmation of the nominations to episcopal churches, in terms that amounted to a direct menace; in fact, they distinctly stated, "that since the Gallican church was virtually abandoned by the Pope, it must consider itself under the painful necessity of providing for its proper preservation by its own autho-

rity." The Holy Father, directed by his natural good sense, willingly agreed to grant all the powers that he considered necessary for the government of those churches, but remained steady and firm in his refusal to confirm by his bulls the Emperor's nominations.

Of all the means that the Roman Pontiffs possessed in former days of recalling to a sense of their duty and to obedience those governments and nations who were indocile and deaf to their voice, all in the ordinary course of affairs have vanished, and nothing at all now remains, with the exception of the right at present inherent in the Pope of confirming the nominations and granting canonical institution to bishops. Thus the Apostolic See, by suspending the execution of that right under the exigency of grave and weighty reasons, is enabled to give an expression to its just indignation, and to inflict, as it were, a holy violence upon governments and nations themselves, in order to compel them to amend their errors and cease to offend against the holy laws of the Church. For those Pontiffs who, at various periods, have availed themselves of the privilege, it is not necessary to make an apology, but it will be sufficient for my purpose to observe, that it is, perhaps, the only mode, or, more properly speaking, the only tie, whereby it is possible to hold governments and

nations firmly bound to the centre of Catholic unity. For which very reason much on the subject has been written by servile authors among the laity, and strenuous have been their endeavours for many years past to wrest the right from the Holy See.

Fortunately it never suited the interest of those sovereigns who, by former Concordats concluded with Popes, acquired the right of nomination of bishops, to revoke such right, and deprive themselves of a valuable privilege, by having recourse to the re-establishment of the ancient process of elections; consequently, in all former cases where similar circumstances of discord and controversy with the Holy See have occurred, and popes have refused to confirm the nomination of sovereigns to episcopal sees, governments have in some instances endeavoured to elude the intentions and views of the pontiffs by *insinuating* (which *insinuation*, by the way, amounts to an absolute command) to the chapters of cathedrals to select as their vicars to the vacant sees the same ecclesiastics who had previously been nominated to those sees as bishops: and thus they obtained their object, to the manifest contempt and detriment of the Apostolic See, by giving them the government of the dioceses in question without the pontifical confirmation. With such an object in view it was that

advice was given to Napoleon to re-establish and carry into effect the Tridentine Canon, with reference to the capitular vicars; of which advice Cardinal Maury boasted to many persons, and even to myself at Fontainebleau, that he was the brave counsellor. The Emperor then nominated to several vacant churches, and among the rest to that of Paris, to which, in reward for the good advice he had received, he nominated Cardinal Maury. He also, through the medium of the Ministre des Cultes, *insinuated* to the chapters of cathedrals to select the persons whom he named as vicars, which *insinuations* were almost generally complied with.

The Holy Father, so soon as he heard of what had been done, immediately perceived the fatal consequences likely to arise from this pretended institution, or, to speak more properly, this intrusion of bishops nominated by the lay power to the administration of the vacant sees under colour of the authority of the chapters. Animated, therefore, by apostolic zeal for the preservation of ecclesiastical discipline, for the maintenance of the authority of the Holy See, and for the interest of the souls of mankind, his Holiness did not fail, notwithstanding the strict state of imprisonment he was in at Savona, to apply such a remedy, and impose such a check upon the grave inconvenience attempted,

as was practicable under the circumstances. Between the months of November and December, 1810, he issued three Briefs on the subject: one addressed, on the 5th of November, to Cardinal Maury; another, on the 2nd of December, to Averado Corboli, archdeacon of the metropolitan church of Florence; and the third, on the 18th of the same month, to the Abbé d'Astros, capitular vicar of the metropolitan church of Paris. In all three he openly declared, that the pretended institution of persons nominated to episcopal sees, to the administration of dioceses previous to pontifical confirmation, was contrary to the most holy laws of the Church and to her discipline then in practice; that it tended to weaken and destroy the principles of the legitimate mission, and to debase and render null the authority of the Holy See.

When these Briefs came to be laid before the public, the best effect that could possibly be desired under the circumstances of the times was produced, inasmuch as they were the means of the faithful being made acquainted with the illegality of the intrusion of the capitular vicars; consequently in every diocese, where one of the latter was appointed, there were invariably several ecclesiastics, particularly those belonging to the chapters of cathedrals, who, notwithstanding the

peremptory orders of the government, refused to recognise him. This spirit of contumacy highly irritated Napoleon, who immediately, in consequence, adopted rigorous measures against the Pope, and against every person whom he suspected of having taken part in the composition and promulgation of these Briefs in France and Italy. Accordingly, the Cardinals Di Pietro, Gabrielli, and Opizzoni, who were previously banished to Semur, were then transported to the state prison at Vincennes; where were also imprisoned the Prelate De Gregorio and the Padre Fontana, general of the Barnabites, both of whom were afterwards elevated to the purple, and became most worthy ornaments of the Holy Church and of the Sacred College. The Prelate Doria was also deprived of his post near the person of the Holy Father, and was banished to Naples; and several old attendants of his Holiness were transported to the state prison at Fenestrelle.[1] Moreover, the Pope was thenceforward denied access to persons of all descriptions, with the exception of those the government chose to place about him; and, finally, all manner of communication with the subjects of the French empire and the kingdom of Italy was officially interdicted by

[1] See vol. i. p. 353.

the Emperor himself, through M. Chabrol, Prefect of the Department, by a letter couched in the following harsh, violent terms:—

"The undersigned, by an order emanating from his sovereign, his Imperial and Royal Majesty Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Swiss Confederation, is charged to notify to Pope Pius VII.—

"That he is forbidden to hold communication with any church in the empire, or with any of the Emperor's subjects, under the penalty of disobedience either on his part or on theirs.

"Let him who preaches rebellion, whose soul is replete with gall, cease to be the organ of the Church; he shall see, since nothing can bring him to his senses, that his Majesty possesses the power of his predecessors, and can depose a Pope!

(Signed) "CHABROL.[1]

"*Notified at Savona, the* 14*th January*, 1811."

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[1] "*Notification à Sa Sainteté le Pape Pie VII. à Savone.*

"Le Soussigné, d'après les ordres émanés de son souverain Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Napoléon, Empereur des Français, Roi d'Italie, Protecteur de la Confédération Suisse, est chargé de notifier au Pape Pie VII.:

"Que defense lui est faite de communiquer avec aucune Eglise de l'Empire, ni aucun sujet de l'Empereur, sous peine de désobéissance de sa part et de la leur.

"Qu'il

The above document was found by myself among the Holy Father's papers, which were brought from Fontainebleau to Rome. It was delivered to the Holy Father by the Prefect Chabrol, as appears by the signature, and is certified by persons of the first distinction and credibility who were attached to the person of the Holy Father at the time, and whom I interrogated on the subject. From these witnesses I also ascertained, that on the night of the 6th of January all the apartments of the Pope's attendants at Savona were rigorously ransacked by the police, who commenced with the apartment of Monsignor Doria, and, afterwards proceeding through all the rest in succession, carried away all their public papers, and all their books, inkstands,

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" Qu'il cesse d'être l'organe de l'Eglise celui qui prêche la rebellion, et dont l'ame est toute de fiel :* que puisque rien ne peut le rendre sage, il verra que Sa Majesté est assez puissante pour faire ce qu'ont fait ses prédécesseurs, et déposer un Pape.

(Signé) " CHABROL.

" *Notifié à Savone, le* 14 *Janvier*, 1811."

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* " Dont l'ame est toute de fiel." The same idea here applied by Bonaparte through the Préfet Chabrol as a term of reproach to his captive, Pius VII., is expressed by Mercury, the messenger of Jupiter, to Prometheus chained to the rock, whom he apostrophizes under the epithet

" *Τὸν πικρῶς υπερπικρον* " (*overbitterly bitter*).

*Προμηθευς Δεσμωτης*, line 943.

H.

pens, &c., in sacks to the police-office. This noble feat was performed by Signor Muzio, Prefect of Police, and the Préfet Chabrol, both dressed *en bourgeois*, assisted by an underling of the prefecture, by name Bompar. There were also present the following officers of the gendarmes, namely, Colonel Thovenau, and two subalterns, Ginacchio and Celli, both of whom, as well as Bompar, were dressed in their military uniforms. The following day, at 22[1] o'clock, while the Pope was walking, according to his custom, in a little garden of the episcopal residence, Colonel Thovenau and the subaltern Ginacchio took an opportunity of entering his apartments and carrying away all his books, with the exception of his breviary; they also seized all his papers, his pens, and inkstand; and after narrowly searching the cupboards and his writing-desk, actually proceeded to the extremity of turning down the covering of the bed, and rifling the pockets of his clothes.

Monsignor Doria, who was banished to Naples, and the other attendants, who were sent to prison at Fenestrelle as above stated, were conveyed out of the palace at two o'clock on the night of the 29th of January, 1811. All which indignities the Pope supported with

[1] Nine minutes after three, French time.

heroic patience, and manifested no visible sign of weakness or want of courage.

The Emperor, meanwhile, after having in the course of the same year filled the state prisons with a great number of ecclesiastics, who either had refused to recognise the intrusive capitular vicars, or had otherwise shown themselves disobedient to his innovations in matters of religion, summoned, in the same month of January, 1811, a new meeting of the Ecclesiastical Council, adding at the same time to their numbers the Cardinal Caselli, Bishop of Parma, and Monsignor di Pradt, Archbishop of Malines. To this assemblage he proposed two queries, of which the first was as follows: "To whom, since all manner of communication is broken off between the Pope and the subjects of the Emperor, is it necessary to have recourse in order to obtain dispensations?" which question certainly came strangely from the mouth of the very person who was the cause of the disorder in question, by keeping the Pope in captivity and forbidding his subjects access to his sacred person.

The second query was—"What will be the legitimate mode, in case the Pope persists in his refusal to issue the Confirmatory Pontifical Bulls, of conferring canonical institution upon the persons nominated by the Emperor to the vacant episcopal sees?"

As the first of the above queries bears no very direct reference to the subject under discussion, I will omit to cite the reply given to it by the Ecclesiastical Council; but with regard to the second query, the Cardinals and Prelates of that body replied—" That the Pope had alleged no canonical reason for his refusal to issue the required Bulls; that the Briefs directed to the capital cities of Paris, Florence, and Asti, were a lamentable proof of the false ideas that persons insufficiently conversant with the usages and the present condition of the churches of France had instilled into the mind of the Holy Father, and that it would be therefore a prudent precaution to annex to the Concordat of 1801 an additional clause, which should make it imperative upon His Holiness to give the canonical institution to the persons nominated by the Emperor within a stated period, at the expiration of which the right of confirmation and canonical institution should devolve on the Provincial Council." They further declared that, " failing of the Pope's consent to the above-mentioned additional clause, his refusal would justify before the face of the whole Church the abolition of the Concordat; though," they added, " since it was a matter of the deepest importance to do nothing contrary to the sense of the public opinion of the country, to which

innovations are generally distasteful, it would be necessary to proceed slowly and cautiously, gently preparing the minds of the people by degrees for the measure." They also insisted, "that the Church of France in cases of necessity possessed the authority to provide for its own preservation; and they repeated the proposal previously suggested, of convoking a more numerous council; previous to the summoning of which, however, they recommended, in order, as they said, to enlighten His Holiness on the true state of affairs, to dispatch a deputation to Savona, to wait upon him."

Such, in brief, is the substance of the answer that the members of the Ecclesiastical Council, assembled in a body, addressed to the Emperor in the month of March, of which there is no doubt of the authenticity, inasmuch as in the year 1814 one of the members of the assembly, Monsignor Archbishop of Tours, had the proceedings in question printed and laid before the public, notwithstanding it would have been more to the honour of himself and the rest of the Council, not to say considerably more indicative of their prudence, had they withheld for ever the publication of the document. It is impossible to read it without a painful sensation, and recalling to one's recollection the old fable of the wolf and the lamb, on observing that it imputes to a Pope,

who at the same time was suffering the pains of a bitter imprisonment, the disorders and disputes that agitated the Churches of France and Italy; while its language, holding in little respect the theologists and canonists of the Roman See, accuses them of false ideas, and applies the hackneyed title "*ultra-montane*" to their maxims. Moreover, the proposal to the Emperor of the plan annexing to the Concordat a restrictive clause, limiting the Pope to a stated period of time in the exercise of his right of confirmation, is a malicious, crafty suggestion, which, under the pretence of preserving a precious privilege of the Holy See, actually tends, under various circumstances, to render it illusory and inefficacious. The Ecclesiastical Council, however, justified their proposal by an argument certainly not founded in fact, expressed as follows:—"This Concordat," said they, meaning the Concordat of 1801, "affords too great an advantage to popes over sovereigns. By one of its clauses the sovereign loses his privilege of nomination, in case he fail to present to the Pope a fit subject within a stated period. Therefore, in order to establish an equality of right between the august contracting parties, it were necessary that the Pope should, on his part, be obliged either to give the institution within a similarly determinate period,

or to allege a canonical reason for his refusal; and otherwise, that in consequence of such refusal exclusively, the right of institution should devolve on the Council of the Province to which the vacant bishopric belongs. By the addition of such a clause to the Concordat, popes would no longer have it in their power to prolong the vacancies of the episcopal sees at their pleasure, and would cease to be masters of the episcopate."

Remarking, by way of parenthesis on the above argument, that the principle of submitting the gracious concessions of the Holy See to the laws and regulations of contracts is essentially unjust, I will merely remark, that that portion of the answer of the Ecclesiastical Council is false, where it asserts that by a clause of the Concordat of 1801 the Sovereign of France loses his right to nominate, provided he fail to present a proper subject to the Pope within the time limited. It is certainly very clearly stated in the body of the document, that the First Consul, within the space of three months after promulgation of the Apostolic Decree of Confirmation of that covenant, shall nominate the archbishops and bishops of nine particular dioceses; but there is not a word to show that, even though he fail to exercise that right within the time, he therefore loses it; much less, consequently, is it to be imagined that he loses the

right by the conditions of Article V., by which the First Consul is invested with the power of nominating for the future to the vacant episcopal sees, without the limitation of any determinate period.

When the Emperor had received the above-mentioned reply from the Council, he summoned to his presence a committee of the cardinals and bishops its members, and at the audience that took place in consequence there occurred a circumstance that gave rise to a great deal of conversation at Paris, and of which the account contained in a valuable manuscript of Cardinal Consalvi, in his own handwriting, is now before me. I will therefore relate the anecdote, as it is told by that illustrious dignitary, who, in the manuscript in question, has, with a laudable curiosity, collected various notices relative to the acts of the above Ecclesiastical, which was also improperly called the "*National*" Council.

"He," the Emperor, "having determined to summon to his presence a committee of the members of the Ecclesiastical Council, to whom, in order to render the assemblage more imposing in the eyes of the public, he proposed to unite his own councillors, as well as several renowned theologists, and great dignitaries of the empire, the meeting was called together unawares one morning, if I am not mistaken in the beginning of April,

1811. The Emperor opened the proceedings by making a very long speech, full of bitter invective against the Pope, whom he loaded with grievous accusations on account of his so-termed obstinate resistance, and at the same time very clearly manifested his own disposition to come to violent extremities, in an harangue which was altogether composed of a tissue of principles the most erroneous, falsehoods the most gross, calumnies the most atrocious, and maxims the most antagonistical to the Church and its regulations. Notwithstanding, when it was finished, there was not a single individual of the so-called committee, either among the bishops or among the cardinals, who had the courage to stand up and maintain the force of truth in the face of rank and power, but, on the contrary, every one of those lofty dignitaries, at once forgetful of his quality and station, and of his own proper duties, remained scandalously silent.

"But to the honour of the Christian religion be it recorded, that at least there was to be found one among the number, and that man a simple ecclesiastic, capable of sustaining the decorum of the profession to which he belonged, by fearlessly rising upon his feet before the meeting, and expressing his sentiments unreservedly in the presence of the most formidable of the Cæsars. This honest clergyman was the aged Abbé Emery,

who, though professing Gallican maxims, so far as relating to the liberty and privileges of the Gallican Church and the maintenance of the celebrated Four Articles of 1682, was at the same time as moderate a partisan as could possibly be expected of a person who, while he sustains the principles, is averse to the consequences of his own doctrines. He was besides a man remarkable for his learning, and of unimpeachable private character, such as was never even sullied by the breath of slander during the perilous times of the revolution. The Abbé Emery, having waited for a considerable period while his superiors in rank remained silent, so soon as the opportunity arrived for him to speak, declining to follow the example of the rest, got up from his seat, and manfully commenced a reply to the Emperor, by propounding the straight-forward assertion, that such a Council as it was proposed to convoke, so long as it were held without the sanction of the Pope, and so long as its proceedings were not approved by his Holiness, would be an illegal, unauthoritative meeting. Enforcing this proposition by luminous, powerful arguments, that admitted of no reply, he next proceeded to defend the Pope against the accusations that the Emperor had made against his Holiness, and addressing himself with the utmost frankness directly to Napoleon:

'Your Majesty,' said he, 'is an admirer of the great Bossuet, and your Majesty has been pleased to make frequent citations of Bossuet's writings; but allow me to tell your Majesty that Bossuet himself is the authority who expressly maintains that, among the multiplicity of kingdoms and empires, the independence and full liberty of the Head of our religion is a state of things absolutely essential to the free exercise of its spiritual supremacy.' Corroborating the proposition of Bossuet by apposite facts of history, he went on steadily to develope a chain of argument that he strengthened by the most convincing reasons, notwithstanding the air of disapprobation assumed, all the while he was speaking, by every member of the committee, many of whom, those immediately close to him, edged away by degrees as if they held him in aversion, and others, when he had concluded, were kind enough to implore the Emperor to excuse the freedom of his language, and to assure his Majesty that the speaker entertained no sinister design whatever towards his Majesty, neither could he possibly have in any way intended to thwart the views of his Majesty.

"The Emperor, who had listened to every word of the speech with the deepest attention, without even for a moment turning his eyes from Emery's countenance,

addressing himself to the advocates of the Abbé Emery, 'You deceive yourselves,' said he, 'if you suppose I am displeased with the Abbé Emery; he has spoken like a man who understands his argument and knows how to support it. Such is the manner I like always to be spoken to.'

"Having so said, the Emperor immediately dissolved the meeting, and on leaving the room, and passing close to the Abbé Emery, saluted him with a kindly expression of countenance, without taking notice of any other individual present. Accordingly, from that very moment the committee vied with one another in paying compliments to the Abbé Emery, and, after the favourable notice by word and deed that he had received from the Emperor, loaded him unanimously with encomiums and caresses. In fact, they now exhibited their meanness in precisely the same proportion as before, while they were afraid of the Emperor's wrath at the uncompromising freedom of the speaker, they had shown their cowardice. Henceforward, all over the city the praises of the Abbé Emery were sounded alike by persons of all classes and of all parties. A few days afterwards, whether owing to his advanced time of life, for he was more than eighty, or in consequence of secret violence, he fell sick and died, fortunate by the catastrophe, at

all events, that his career could never have terminated at a period more glorious in the face of the world, or in a manner more meritorious in the sight of Heaven."

Napoleon's reflections, after the second reply of the Ecclesiastical Council to his queries, and after hearing the speech of the Abbé Emery, caused him to perceive the various difficulties of the enterprise he had undertaken against the Pope, and consequently prompted him to conduct himself with less violence and with much more caution than he had done before. For my own part the above-mentioned anecdote tends to corroborate more strongly in my mind my previously formed opinion, that Bonaparte would never have proceeded to the length he did in the persecution of the Holy See, or at least would not have commenced his attack so soon, if, when he began to meddle with religious matters, there had been found more true-hearted apostolic courage among the French prelates, and a less truckling and condescending spirit in Rome. The last answer of the Ecclesiastical Council meeting, as may well be imagined, his approbation, he immediately proceeded to follow its suggestions by issuing a circular letter bearing date the 25th of April, summoning to the city of Paris on the 9th of June the bishops of France, as well as several others of the kingdom of Italy, and of

the Italian provinces united to the French empire. This circular, written in his usual soldier-like style, ran as follows:—

"*To Monseigneur the Archbishop of ——, or to Monseigneur the Bishop of ——.*

"The finest churches and the most populous dioceses in the empire are without bishops. One of the contracting parties to the Concordat has disowned it. The conduct that has been pursued these last ten years in Germany has nearly destroyed the Episcopate in that part of Christendom; at present there are no more than eight bishops; the greater portion of the dioceses are governed by apostolic vicars.

"The right of the chapters to administer the government of the dioceses during the vacancy of the sees has been disturbed, and under-handed plots tending to excite sedition and disorder among our subjects have been undertaken; the chapters have rejected the Briefs contrary to their rights and to the sacred canons.

"Time notwithstanding rolls on, and new sees are continually becoming vacant; the Episcopate, unless speedy measures be undertaken, will become extinct in France and Italy, as in Germany.

"We have therefore determined, being desirous of

preventing a state of things so contrary to the service of religion, the principles of the Gallican Church, and the interests of the State, to command the attendance, on the 9th day of June next, in the church of Notre Dame in Paris, of all the bishops of France and Italy, in a General Council.

"We therefore desire, that so soon as you receive the present communication, you immediately set forth on your journey towards our good city of Paris, so as to arrive in the first week in June.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."[1]

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[1] "*À Monseigneur l'Archevêque de —— (ou à Monseigneur l'Evêque de ——).*

"Les Eglises les plus illustres et les plus populeuses de l'Empire sont vacantes. Une des parties contractantes du Concordat l'a méconnu. La conduite que l'on a tenu en Allemagne depuis dix ans a presque détruit l'épiscopat dans cette partie de la Chrétienté; il n'y a aujourd'hui que huit Evêques; grand nombre des diocèses sont gouvernés par des vicaires apostoliques.

"On a troublé les chapitres dans le droit qu'ils ont de pourvoir pendant la vacance des siéges à l'administration des diocèses, et l'on a ourdi des manœuvres ténébreuses, tendant à exciter le désordre et la sédition parmi nos sujets; les chapitres ont rejeté des brefs contraires à leurs droits, et aux saints canons.

"Cependant les années s'écoulent, de nouveaux siéges viennent à vaquer tous les jours; s'il n'y était pourvu promptement, l'épiscopat s'éteindrait en France et en Italie comme en Allemagne.

"Voulant prévenir un état de choses si contraire au bien de la religion,

The principal scope of Napoleon and his councillors by summoning together such a numerous assembly of bishops was for the purpose of intimidation, and of rendering the Pope by that means more condescending and pliable to the pretensions he had in his mind to urge. At the same time he very clearly comprehended that it was not sufficient for his purpose, even though he succeeded in inducing every single individual of the bishops composing the Council to bend their necks to his nod, and that so long as the Pope withheld his consent and approval of their proceedings, the schism in the country would be extended instead of being extinguished, and parties and factions would become multiplied more and more. In fact, the object he had in view, that of obliging all the clergy of France and Italy to be of one opinion, and tamely follow the new regulations in ecclesiastical discipline that he had it in his head to propose and introduce in all his dominions, was absolutely impossible; the more so, as the schism

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aux principes de l'Eglise Gallicane, et aux intérêts de l'Etat, nous avons résolu de réunir au 9 Juin prochain dans l'Eglise de Notre Dame de Paris tous les évêques de France et d'Italie en concile national.

" Nous désirons donc, qu'aussitôt que vous aurez reçu la présente, vous ayez à vous mettre en route, afin d'être arrivé en notre bonne ville de Paris dans la première semaine de Juin.

(Signé) " NAPOLÉON."

of the so-called *constitutional* clergy, and the horror occasioned over a great part of France by the sacrilegious consecration of the intrusive bishops, was yet fresh in people's recollections. Seeing, therefore, that whatever innovations he might then be able to introduce in the matter of religion, without the consent and intervention of the Pope, would be considered illegitimate and schismatic by the general public; he for that reason, following the suggestion of the Ecclesiastical Council in the instance in question, permitted, in consideration of the importance of the matters to be discussed, a deputation of three prelates, chosen from the cardinals and bishops who were residing at that time at Paris, to be dispatched to Pius VII. at Savona. Napoleon nevertheless expected, under the colour of this deputation, still to have it in his power to manage matters no less dictatorially than he was used to do; to which end he himself not only nominated the prelates in question, but appointed the day of their departure and the day of their return to Paris; and farther, provided the Pope consented to negotiate with the deputation, he determined upon the matters to be discussed and the base and conditions of the new agreement to be proposed to his Holiness.

The prelates so selected by the Emperor were Mon-

signor de Barral, Archbishop of Tours; Monsignor Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes, who then enjoyed his favour and unlimited confidence; and Monsignor Mannay, Bishop of Treves—all three of whom were persons of cultivated talents, well versed in public affairs, but men of courtly disposition and extreme servility towards the secular authorities; which dangerous epidemic among bishops who frequent the palaces of princes has existed since the days of Constantine, as is testified in the persons of Constantine's favourites, the two Eusebiuses, who in the history of Arianism have bequeathed an unenviable notoriety to posterity. The instructions, which by command of the Emperor were put in writing by the functionary calling himself Ministre des Cultes, and given to the deputation, were to the effect that the deputation should notify to the Pope the convocation of the Ecclesiastical Council and its proceedings; that they should acquaint him, that since his Holiness, one of the contracting parties to the Concordat of 1801, had refused to comply with its conditions, the same was for that reason to be considered in force no longer, and that for the future the bishops should receive their canonical institution in the same manner as was in practice previous to the Concordat of Francis I.; the said institution to be

carried into effect according to a form to be established by the Council and approved by the Emperor. The three bishop deputies were then authorised to enter into a treaty with the Pope whenever his Holiness might be disposed to a conciliation, and were further directed, in entering upon the adjustment of the affairs in question, to arrange the matters in dispute under two separate heads; namely, first the Institution of the Bishops; and secondly, the General Affairs of the Church.

With regard to the first of the abovementioned heads, the Emperor proposed to consent to readmit the Concordat of the year 1801 on two conditions, namely, "that the Pope should give canonical institution to those bishops whom he, the Emperor, had already nominated; and that for the future, if within the space of three months after the communication of the names by the Emperor to the Pope, the Pope should fail to give the apostolic confirmation, the names of those nominated should then be submitted to the Metropolitan, who should give the institution to the Suffragan, or in case of the nominated party being an archbishop, the names should be submitted to a Suffragan, who would in like manner institute the Metropolitan. Next, with regard to the second head,

namely, the regulation of the general affairs of the Church, the Emperor proposed the following preliminaries:—"That the Pope should be permitted to return to Rome, provided he consented to the form of the oath of fidelity and obedience prescribed to the bishops by the Concordat of 1801; but in case his Holiness refused his consent as aforesaid, that he should establish his residence at Avignon, where, under such circumstances, he should be permitted to exercise his *spiritual* jurisdiction, and have the privilege of receiving at his Court resident ministers of foreign Christian powers; that he should further be allowed an annual revenue of two millions of francs for his maintenance, and in every other respect enjoy the honours of a sovereign—under the condition, however, that he should be restricted from doing any act whatever in the course of his administration of the government, contrary to the principles laid down in the year 1682 by the four propositions of the Gallican clergy. It was further stated by the Emperor's instructions to the deputation, that provided the Pope consented to agree to the above conditions, and so soon as he had executed the two proposed treaties, the Emperor would then be disposed to proceed to the discussion of other matters; namely, the erection of new bishoprics in Holland and in Ger-

many; the establishment of offices of Dataria, of missions, &c.; and all and every other subject relating to the free exercise of the pontifical jurisdiction. In conclusion, the three bishops were directed to intimate to the Pope that the temporal sovereignty of Rome would never on any account be restored to him, and were commanded themselves to return to Paris, so as to appear there on the 9th of June, the day appointed for the opening of the Council, as before stated.

The three prelates thus chosen by the Emperor were not ashamed to accept the abovementioned odious commission of carrying such bitterly hard proposals to a venerable Pontiff, infinitely well deserving of their own nation, who was at the same time existing in a state of strict imprisonment, deprived of his ministers, his councillors, and of every sort of assistance towards the management of important affairs. They notwithstanding took with them, as deputies of the cardinals and bishops then residing in Paris, to serve as credentials of their mission to the Holy Father, a letter bearing the signatures of the entire body, in which they jointly recommended his Holiness in the strongest terms to effect a reconciliation with the Emperor by yielding to his demands and pretensions.

The bishop deputies left Paris on the 1st of May,

arrived at Savona on the 9th, and on the following day were presented by the Prefect of the department resident in that city to the Holy Father, who received them with his usual kindness and affability. Thenceforward, almost every day till the 19th, they, together with the Bishop of Faenza, had an audience with the Pope, and held frequent conferences on the subject of their mission. An account of these conferences, relating to the various matter introduced at each, and the manner of treating every subject, is to be found in the letters of the Archbishop of Tours, head of the deputation, addressed to the Ministre des Cultes, which letters were published at Paris in 1814, by the Archbishop himself, in a work which I have already more than once referred to, called 'Fragmens relatifs à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique des premières Années du 19me Siècle.' The four prelates, including the Bishop of Faenza, rowing all together, so to say, in the same boat, craftily combined their forces, and used all the means in their power, never at the same time omitting the customary expressions of filial devotion and unalterable attachment to the Gallican Church, the chair of S. Peter, and particularly to the sacred person of Pius VII., to persuade the Pope to yield to the wishes of the Emperor. Sometimes they strove to move his compassion

by painting a dismal picture of the condition of the Church of France, deprived of her proper pastors; and then again they would endeavour to frighten him by citing all the fearful consequences that were likely to result from his refusal. Very dexterously they made him believe that the forthcoming assembly of bishops, improperly termed by themselves "*National Council*," would find itself under the necessity, in order to provide pastors for the vacant churches of France and Italy, to revert to the means and usages of the ancient discipline; alluding thereby to the confirmation of the metropolitans, and the celebrated Pragmatic Sanction, by means of which the Holy See lost one of its most valuable prerogatives. At the same time they strenuously urged upon the Pope to consent to the new clause proposed by the Emperor to be added to the Concordat of 1801, for the purpose, they said, of preserving the right of confirmation and institution of bishops to the Holy See. They even ventured to insinuate that the promise demanded from him as the condition of his liberty by the Emperor, namely, to do nothing contrary to the four propositions of the Gallican clergy, was neither as it regarded himself prejudicial to his power, nor as relating to the Holy See, offensive to its decorum.

According to the letters of the Archbishop of Tours above referred to, it appears that in the beginning the Pope withstood the struggle with the French prelates so firmly, and opposed to their repeated assaults such learning and energy in supporting the reasons of his refusal, that they frequently lost the hope of succeeding in their enterprise, and entertained a serious apprehension of being ultimately compelled to return to Paris without bringing their negotiation to a conclusion. Steadily and continually he rejected the fatal proposal made to him of promising never to act contrary to the four Gallican propositions, which promise he declared was no less contrary to the maxims of the Roman Church, than it was in open contradiction to every act the various Pontiffs his predecessors had performed, and every word they had ever written. He invariably and daily protested over and over again, that in affairs of such importance, touching the discipline and rights of the Universal Church, and the prerogatives of the Roman Primate, he ought not, nor would he, so long as he was in a state of imprisonment, and without the assistance of his Council, the Sacred College, come to any resolution whatever, or make any determination. At the same time, while these French bishops were making this extraordinary exhibition, by craftily sub-

stituting themselves after a manner for the absent body of cardinals, persons who were really and truly devoted to the Holy Apostolic See; Pius VII. courteously gave them to understand, that much as he esteemed them personally, he could not at the same time, imbued with Gallican maxims as they were, place in them the same full measure of confidence as in the cardinals, his natural-born councillors. The deputy prelates, in replying to the Pope's reasoning, carefully preserved a thoroughly respectful tone in their behaviour, while they still tormented him notwithstanding every day with their importunities in frequent audiences, intimidating him by egregiously magnifying the inauspicious results that would arise, they said, from his refusal to make what they called trifling concessions, and showing a woful portrait of the schism in the Church, which they affirmed would be the inevitable consequence. Finally, by way of driving him to a hasty resolution, after agitating his mind to the utmost of their power, after beseeching him to save the Church from the horrors that awaited it, and to preserve the Apostolic See from the spoliation of its most valuable prerogatives, they concluded, to use a common expression, by holding a knife to his throat, and pressing upon him the necessity of coming at once to a determina-

tion; inasmuch as they were obliged, they said, to return to Paris on the 9th of June by order of the Emperor.

Whoever may have been in the habit of personal intercourse with Pius VII., and acquainted with his modesty of character and diffidence in his own talents, will not be surprised to be informed that in the end, as might be anticipated, these prelates gained their object by their perseverance. The intelligence on the contrary will no doubt carry with it the conviction that the act of concession, performed under such critical circumstances, was more worthy of compassion than of censure. Kept in the dark with regard to everything that had happened in France and in Europe, harassed and exhausted by being incessantly worried by the prelates, having nobody to depend upon for advice and assistance, terrified at the spectacle represented to him of the future, and feeling that every sinister event that might hereafter befal the Church rested on his own responsibility, the unfortunate Pius VII. promised, in fact, at last to confirm and give canonical institution to the persons nominated by the Emperor, to extend the Concordat of 1801 to the churches of Tuscany, of Parma, and of Piacenza; and, finally, to add to the

abovementioned Concordat the clause proposed by the Emperor. The moment of his weakness was immediately taken advantage of by the prelate deputies, who, forthwith reducing his promise to writing, and holding the document under his very eyes, forced him, notwithstanding he actually never put his signature to the paper, to acknowledge it as his own act and deed.

The terms of the document were as follows:—

"His Holiness, taking into consideration the necessities and the wish of the churches of France and Italy as represented to his Holiness by the Archbishop of Tours, and the Bishops of Treves, Nantes, and Faenza, and being desirous of affording to these churches a new proof of his paternal affection, declares to the abovementioned Archbishop and Bishops,—

"FIRST. That his Holiness will grant canonical institution to the persons nominated by his Imperial and Royal Majesty, according to the forms agreed upon at the period of the Concordats of France and of the kingdom of Italy.

"SECONDLY. That his Holiness will condescend to extend, by means of a new Concordat, the same dispositions to the churches of Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza.

"THIRDLY. His Holiness consents that there shall be introduced in the Concordat a clause whereby he will oblige himself to issue bulls for the institution of the bishops nominated by his Majesty within a determinate period; which period his Holiness presumes cannot be less than six months; and in case his Holiness exceeds the aforesaid period of six months, the metropolitan of the vacant church, or, failing of the metropolitan, the oldest bishop of the ecclesiastical province, shall be empowered under all circumstances, with the exception of unworthiness on the part of the persons nominated, to issue bulls in his Holiness's name.

"FOURTHLY. His Holiness has been induced and moved to make these concessions in the hope that the bishop deputies have in their discourses given him reason to entertain; namely, that a way will thereby be opened leading to further amicable arrangements, by which the peace and order of the Church will be re-established, and liberty, independence, and dignity restored to the Holy See.

"Dated, Savona, 19th of May, 1811."

Such was the result of the mission of the four prelates to Savona, and such was the first retrograde step that Pius VII., after being forcibly carried from Rome, was compelled to make. Its consequences were several

acts that followed still more injudicious and of still greater importance, until all were finally crowned by the conclusion of the Concordat of Fontainebleau. No sooner were the deputies departed, than the Pope, reflecting upon the extent of the concession he had made, fully appreciating the grave solemnity of the act itself, and perceiving the manner in which the promise, that in a moment of surprise had been extorted from him by the importunity of the prelates, might be abused throughout the country,—

"*Sought where to weep, and he entered into his chamber and wept there.*"[1]

In truth, he was so deeply affected at what he had done, that, as I was informed at Fontainebleau by his ajutante di camera, Ilario Palmieri, who slept in the room adjoining the chamber of the Holy Father, not only he did not close his eyes the whole of the following night, sighing bitterly and incessantly till the morning, and piteously accusing himself in terms of the most lively repentance, but his grief the next morning, on making inquiries after the French bishops and finding they were gone, actually amounted to a state of stupefaction, as if he were out of his mind.

[1] Genesis xliii. 30.

Meanwhile the bishop deputies on their return to France made a report to the Government of their mission; though no measures in consequence of the promise that had been obtained from the Pope were then immediately taken. On the 17th of June, however, a general assembly, consisting of the entire body of French bishops, together with several of the Italian bishops, was convened with great pomp and solemnity under the title of "*National Council,*" whereby no small degree of fear and palpitation of heart was excited among the good subjects of the nation, who dared not persuade themselves that the Emperor would ever call such a number of prelates together in Paris for the purpose of holding a consultation, unless he were previously assured that no obstacle would be offered to his designs—though eventually he did not find these prelates so docile and pliable in ecclesiastical matters as the good Lombards and population beyond the Alps had shown themselves under the political changes of his government.

It is not my intention here to make a history of the proceedings of this so-called "National Council," which was convoked by Napoleon arbitrarily, inasmuch as he omitted to summon, as prescribed by the sacred canons, all the Italian bishops, by reason that a considerable

number of that body had either fallen under suspicion, or incurred his indignation. I will merely state, in few words, the principal facts that are required to elucidate and render intelligible the events that subsequently happened. For instance, in the first place, Napoleon caused it to be proposed to the Assembly to make a change in the actual state of the discipline of the Church, with regard to the confirmation and institution of bishops, requesting them at the same time to propound a new method of canonical institution, which duty he insisted belonged, after the annulment of the Concordat of 1801, to the National Council. The Commission, however, of cardinals and prelates who were nominated by the Assembly to examine the proposal of the Emperor and give their opinion upon it, replied, in spite of all the intrigues and trickery put into practice on the occasion by the courtier prelates, "that the National Council was incompetent, in the instance in question, to introduce any change whatever in the universal discipline of the Church, or make any alteration in what had been previously confirmed by an œcumenic council. The question, as above stated, having been put to the vote and negatived, another resolution was proposed, grounded, with a little variation, upon the written promise which the three bishops

26379

recently returned from Savona had so laboriously extorted from the Pope; whereby he had approved of the new clause to be added to the Concordat of 1801, that limited him to the space of six months in giving the confirmation and canonical institution to the bishops, and in case of his failure ceded the right to the metropolitan. It concluded by requesting the Emperor to permit another deputation to be despatched to the Holy Father at Savona, to thank him for his late concessions. The Assembly received the latter resolution with a feeling of considerable hesitation; doubting in fact the truth, or at all events the exactness, of the written paper in question, which was procured and vouched for only by the three prelates, without bearing the signature of the Pope himself, while, on the other hand, were to be taken into consideration, as to the probability of its inaccuracy, the multitude of contrivances and strenuous efforts that the flatterers and adherents of the Court had notoriously put in practice to obtain it; finally therefore the Assembly rejected this resolution also, peremptorily refusing to entertain it, either in the terms in which it was proposed or in substance.

The Emperor, being speedily informed of the result of the discussion, became violently irritated, and, in the

excess of his wrath, dissolved the Assembly unawares and suddenly; at the same time the venerable Bishops of Tournay, Troyes, and Ghent, all three of whom had shown themselves the most ardent defenders of the prerogatives of the Holy See, were arrested and transported to the state prison at Vincennes. The philosophers and the Jansenists were then forthwith inspired with new-born hopes, and fears and palpitations agitated the hearts of the faithful, lest, as both alike imagined, probably Napoleon, enraged and weary at the opposition made to his designs by the Pope and the Bishops, might finally come to the strange and violent determination of prescribing new laws to the Church in his own person as its supreme legislator.

As neither party, in my opinion, were acquainted with the true character of Napoleon, nor perceived the drift of his operations, both were consequently mistaken. Napoleon never for a moment had it in contemplation to detach the French nation from the bosom of the Catholic Church; but, himself insatiable, was incapable, whenever he found the Pope and Bishops condescending, of ever pronouncing the word *enough;* though, on the contrary, he invariably stopped short whenever he met with resistance, craftily taking a future opportunity to imagine new projects and machinations, whereby he

might carry his ideas into execution by another method. By such a policy, alas! under the circumstances in question, he carried out his intentions too successfully, and, changing his tack accordingly, he commissioned the two functionaries called Ministres des Cultes, one of the French empire, the other of the kingdom of Italy, to summon separately, one by one, all the bishops then residing in Paris belonging to their respective nations, and, assembling them face to face, to induce them to sign a paper, containing a promise to support a resolution, about to be proposed to a new meeting of the Council, to adopt and annex to the Concordat the clause before referred to. The above-mentioned ministers executed the commission intrusted to them with the degree of activity and energy that Napoleon well knew how to instil into the minds of his agents, and accordingly, by dint of operating upon the different characters of the prelates they had to deal with, according to the temperament of the individual, sometimes by the allurement of promises and flattery, and in other instances by threats and violence, they succeeded, though not without meeting very considerable opposition, in prevailing on the greater portion of the bishops to sign the paper—all, in fact, with the exception of fourteen or fifteen, whom no consideration whatever could persuade to swerve from

their duty and bend to the wishes of the Government. Nearly all the constitutional or intrusive bishops, as well as those who were the flatterers and slaves of the court, anxious to make a merit of their prompt submission, signed it naturally enough without any hesitation, so that the delay and difficulties that were met with by the ministers proceeded from those exclusively who dreaded to do anything against the real wishes of the Pope, as before stated.

Meanwhile the ministers drew, on the one hand, an exaggerated picture of the fatal consequences that might ensue from the Emperor's indignation in the event of their refusal, and, on the other, assured the recusant prelates, "that, provided they would consent to sign the paper, that bore already the signatures of the other bishops, the anger of the Emperor would immediately be appeased, and he would permit the Council to reassemble." They further added, with regard to giving offence to the Pope, "that the prelates need not fear to act contrary to his Holiness's wishes, inasmuch as his Holiness himself," they said, "suggested and proposed the measure to the deputy bishops at Savona, and the paper, moreover, so soon as they had signed it, would be despatched to the Pope himself for his approbation and confirmation." Such a line of argument

could not fail to be acceptable to many of the prelates, who rested upon it as the means of extricating themselves from the serious dilemma in which, during the period of the sitting of the Assembly, they had found themselves. Unwilling as they were, on the one hand, to displease a monarch on whom the state of religion in France and Italy, at all events, depended, and whose projects in consequence they were in some degree induced to support, they foresaw, on the other hand, and were eagerly desirous to avoid, the scandal that appeared likely to be inflicted on all good people, not to say the horror occasioned all over Europe, by any decree or resolution contrary to the power and rights of the Holy See that they might promulgate at a period that would have the appearance of being purposely chosen while the Pope himself was suffering severe imprisonment; while the members of the Sacred College were banished and dispersed in various places, or imprisoned in fortresses; and while the Roman clergy were cruelly persecuted by being hunted from city to city and from island to island in the Mediterranean.

The provisions of the paper being, as above stated, thus apparently modified, according to the discourse of the ministers, by the introduction of several reservations and alterations that never afterwards were had regard

to, they were induced to sign it, and accordingly the Emperor, having gained the point he wanted, permitted a new meeting of the Council, which was in consequence called on the 5th of August of the same year, 1811. At this General Congregation the Archbishop of Tours, head of the deputation to Savona, made a report to the meeting of the negotiations and conferences that had taken place with the Pope, and of the result of their mission; at the same time he read the written promise of the Holy Father relative to the addition of the clause to the Concordat of 1801; in consequence of which communication the Council agreed to the following Decree:—

"*Decree of the National Council of Paris issued at a General Congregation held on the 5th of August*, 1811, *under the presidency of his most Eminent Highness D. Joseph Cardinal Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons, Grand Almoner, &c.*

"The National Council decrees as follows:—

"ART. 1. According to the spirit of the holy canons, the archbishoprics and bishoprics cannot remain vacant more than a year, within which period the nomination, the canonical institution, and the consecration, must necessarily take place.

"ART. 2. The Council supplicates the Emperor that he will continue to nominate to the vacant sees according to the tenor of the Concordat, and that the persons nominated by the Emperor shall demand of the Supreme Pontiff their canonical institution.

"ART. 3. Within the space of six months, to commence from the day on which the Pope shall receive notice of the Emperor's nomination made in the regular form, his Holiness shall give the canonical institution, as the Concordats direct.

"ART. 4. At the expiration of the six months, if his Holiness have not already granted the institution, the metropolitan, or in his absence the senior bishop of the ecclesiastical province, shall proceed to the institution of the bishop nominated; and in the case when the metropolitan shall be nominated the senior bishop shall institute the metropolitan.

"ART. 5. The present decree shall be sent to his Holiness for his approbation; with which object his Majesty the King and Emperor shall be most humbly requested to permit a deputation consisting of six bishops to be despatched to the Holy Father, for the purpose of entreating him to confirm its provisions, by which alone the misfortunes of the churches of the

French empire and of the Italian kingdom can be brought to a termination.

(Signed)

" G. CARDINAL FESCH, President.
" GIACINTO, Archbishop of Turin, Secretary.
" PAOLO, Archbishop of Pavia, Secretary.
" JEAN BAPTISTE, Bishop of Nantes, Secretary.
" CHARLES, Bishop of Bayeux, Secretary."

This decree, so offensive to the Pontifical rights with regard to the confirmation of bishops, was the first sad effect of the promise extorted by the repeated harassing importunities inflicted by the bishop deputies upon Pius VII. at Savona; otherwise it is reasonable to conclude the Emperor would never have obtained it. By his permission, and I believe I may say by his command, the members nominated as the deputation to present the document to the Pope at Savona were as follows, namely, the Archbishops of Tours, Pavia, and Malines, and the Bishops of Faenza, Piacenza, d'Evreux, Treves, Nantes, and Feltre; which latter prelate, however, died previous to their departure.

It were much to be desired that an exact and properly authenticated description were prepared of this extraordinary assembly, to form which Napoleon per-

mitted exclusively those bishops whom he himself approved to be selected, excluding, as before stated, many others who according to the holy canons had a right to be chosen. At their first session, at the meeting held for the purpose of the opening of the Council, the usual oath of obedience to the Pope was administered to all the prelates present, and afterwards at the next meeting the so-called Ministres des Cultes proposed, in the name of the Emperor, the subject on which the Council were ordered to deliberate; which subject was nothing more nor less than an infamous libel against Pius VII., whom, in a set of resolutions that made many a holy pastor present shudder, it accused of all the evils that had happened to the Church. According to a resolution proposed by the Proteus Cardinal Maury, the ancient mode of voting in the Council was substituted by those who desired to express their approbation rising from their seats, while the dissentient members remained seated—a practice which, having been adopted by the revolutionists and the members of the National Convention, ought certainly, were it only on that account, to have been rejected with horror, as recalling to memory the misdeeds and wickedness of that infamous period. It was at their sixth meeting that the Commission of Car-

dinals and Prelates, appointed to examine the proposition made by the Ministres des Cultes in the name of the Emperor, declared the incompetency of the Council, and that Napoleon, enraged in consequence, as above stated, dissolved the assembly and imprisoned the bishops. After a short interval, the second act of this sacred drama commenced by the reassembling of the members, and the passing the decree of the 5th of August; after which, not a word more was said about the Council, and without the usual formality of a subsequent meeting being held for the purpose of promulgating the decrees the bishops were finally dismissed to their separate dioceses. After such facts as these, it was really strange to hear the Archbishops of Tours and Malines, and the Bishops of Nantes and Treves, citing the maxims of the Gallican Church and boasting of its liberties.

The credentials furnished by the Council to the deputies about to proceed to Savona consisted of a letter, dated the 19th of August, in which they entreated his Holiness to approve the decree as the only prompt remedy for the grave disorders that agitated the several vacant sees in France and in Italy. The letter contained the following remarkable passages :—

" Inheritors " (said they, the Gallican Bishops) " of the

learning and of the sentiments by which our churches have invariably been distinguished, we respect the chains that bind us to the Apostolic See, and we trust that your Holiness will consider as a new proof of those sentiments the decree we have now issued; since it is in substance the same as your Holiness's self suggested to the bishops who three months ago, having had the honour of being in your Holiness's presence, submitted a draft of the document to your Holiness's inspection, and then obtained your Holiness's permission to preserve the copy."

Again, a little lower:—"We have," said they, "every reason to be inspired by faith and hope that your Holiness will not refuse to confirm and render authentic a decree comprising measures that your Holiness has already approved, and which under the circumstances of the times is not only the sole remedy for our misfortunes, but affords the only means by which your Holiness can transmit intact to your successors a prerogative no less important to the Holy See than it is precious in the estimation of our Churches."

Another letter, in addition to the foregoing, was written to the Pope by his Eminence Cardinal Fesch, in which, bearing the same tenor and expressing the same sentiments, it was in like manner asserted that

the bishops entertained well-founded hopes that the deliberations of the Council would be approved by his *Beatitude*, by whose own self those deliberations had been suggested. Both letters had the double object, in the first place, to justify in the face of the world an act so prejudicial to the sacred rights of the Holy See, by making believe that everything that had been done was in compliance with the insinuations and suggestions of the Pope himself; and, in the next, to place the Pope (to use a familiar phrase) with his back to the wall, and oblige him, from the fear of being thought a defaulter to his word, to approve and subscribe his name to the decree. Meanwhile, as it was generally known throughout France that the Pope, after the departure of the bishop deputies from Savona, had manifested serious signs of regret and repentance on account of the promise he had given, the Government, or those functionaries who acted on the part of the Government, fearing that his Holiness would yet refuse to approve the decree, and declare what he had many times insisted upon before during the first conferences at Savona, namely, that he could not and would not determine upon ecclesiastical affairs of such summary importance without the assistance of his natural councillors the cardinals — the Government, I say, desirous of pre-

venting and avoiding such a reply, thought proper to despatch to Savona, at the same time with the deputation of bishops, five cardinals, chosen from among those resident in Paris, in order that, by their rendering assistance to the Holy Father in his deliberations, the objection above referred to might be removed. The Cardinals who, at all events with the knowledge and permission of the Emperor, were selected on the occasion, were Giuseppe Doria, Antonio Dugnani, Aurelio Rovarella, Fabrizio Ruffo, and De Bayanne.

The Government previous to their departure being desirous of assuring themselves that all the above Cardinals were inclined on their arrival at Savona to forward its designs, it is with extreme disinclination and with a sense of unfeigned sorrow that I feel myself compelled to lift a veil which will bring to light actions of some of my colleagues that must necessarily cast a stain on their fame and reputation that I would willingly obliterate; but, on the other hand, it is absolutely incumbent on me to lay before the world the intrigues and tricks had recourse to by the French Government under the circumstances in question, in order to show the public how concessions so extraordinary and so prejudicial to the Holy See were obtained from the Holy Father, and to prevent so lamentable an

example from ever being followed in future. On the departure of the five Cardinals for Italy, a report immediately got abroad in Paris stating that, in order to obtain permission to carry the deputation to the Pope at Savona, they were required to present a petition to the Emperor, by which they all bound themselves, by an explicit solemn promise under their joint signatures, to the effect that they would employ all their credit and influence with the Holy Father to persuade him to comply with the demands of the Council, and conciliate the matters in dispute according to the views of his Majesty. It was further reported that the author and person who drew up the above petition was the Cardinal Rovarella. At first the truth of the story gained no credence among the better class of people, who would not allow themselves to be persuaded that respectable dignitaries of the purple could have entertained so little respect for their solemn oaths as to commit an act, I will not say of prevarication, of which they were certainly incapable, though of such extreme and unpardonable weakness; but the death of Cardinal Rovarella put an end to all manner of doubt on the subject, and the fact, that in the beginning was only supported by rumour and mere suspicion, then became undeniable. Among the papers of the deceased Cardinal there was

found the following letter from the Ministre des Cultes, directed at all events to Rovarella, though most probably it was a circular addressed in common to all the other four. It was given by Monsignor Valle to the Cardinal Consalvi:—

"*Office of the Ministre des Cultes,*
"19*th August,* 1811.

"MR. CARDINAL,

"You have requested permission of his Majesty to proceed to Savona. I have the commands of his Majesty to communicate to you the instructions given to the bishops, and to acquaint you that, provided you are of opinion that it is incumbent on his Holiness to accommodate the matters in question, you are authorized by his Majesty to undertake the journey to Savona, and are at liberty to depart immediately.

"I have already made you orally this communication, and you have assured me that it is your opinion that the Pope ought to yield to the good of the Church, and that you will use all the influence in your power with his Holiness to induce him to do so.

"It is the desire of his Majesty that, on your arrival at Savona, you will not communicate in writing with any person whatever, and that you will not allow yourself

to be made the channel of any negotiation with the Pope.

"Provided the Pope adhere to the decree of the Council, you are at liberty to remain in Savona and assist him with your advice in other matters of business. His Majesty maintains the same sentiments that he explained to the bishop deputies on the occasion of their first journey to Savona, and his Majesty is still inclined to afford to the Pope all the necessary means to sustain his dignity, to carry on the government, and to regulate the affairs of the Catholic Church. Should the Pope refuse to give the decree his approbation, you will immediately return to Paris.

"I beg your Eminence to believe the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) "LE COMTE BIGOT DE PREMENEU,
"The Ministre des Cultes."

The five Cardinal deputies having added to their number Monsignor Bertazzoli, Archbishop of Edessa and the Pope's Almoner, whom the Pope had summoned a short time before from Italy, the expedition departed on their route to Savona at the end of the month of August. All good subjects, especially those who were better acquainted than the rest with the cha-

racter of the Pope, became now seriously alarmed; though some endeavoured to flatter themselves that Pius VII., under the discipline of past experience, and after having shown manifest signs of repentance of his promise made to the bishops of the first deputation, would testify more firmness and energy on the present occasion, and reject this artful, hypocritical decree. Neither were they less confident that he would stand firm to his former declaration, not to be induced to act in affairs of such great importance to the government of the Church without the Holy College of Cardinals; in which pleasing illusion they were further confirmed by reflecting that the arrival of five Cardinals at Savona could hardly effect a change in the Holy Father's determination, inasmuch as they constituted only a small portion of the Sacred College. Moreover, being despatched at least with the privity and consent, if not by the actual instigation, of Napoleon himself, the individuals, to say the very least, lost the credit of perfect impartiality in the face of the public, who thought it strange, no doubt, to see carried into effect a manœuvre as palpable as if the litigant in a pending dispute were to select and send to an opposite party, for the purpose of giving him advice and defending the cause, his advocate and solicitor.

Eventually, the holy caravan arrived at Savona at the beginning of September, though I have never been able to ascertain precisely what took place between those emissaries and the Pope. I know, however, from what I heard at Fontainebleau, on sufficient authority, that nearly every fatal resolution that was carried on that occasion was attributable to the Cardinal Rovarella.

Cardinal Aurelio Rovarella was born of an illustrious family of Cesena; and, in his youth having come to Rome and applied himself to the study of the law, a few years afterwards his fellow-citizen the Cardinal Giov. Angelo Braschi was elevated to the chair of S. Peter; consequently, Rovarella immediately changed his profession, and thenceforth became a member of the Roman prelacy. Under the favour of the Pontiff, his patron, he made extremely rapid progress, and, attaining the Cardinalate in the year 1794, a short time afterwards was invested with the office of Pro-Datario. He was one of the members of the Conclave assembled, at the death of Pius VI., for the election of a Pope, at Venice, where, accordingly, another of his fellow-citizens, the Cardinal Chiaramonti, was elevated to the Supreme Pontificate under the name of Pius VII. In the year 1808, at a period when his influence over public affairs was powerful, and his merit highly appreciated by the

Roman court, he, together with several other Cardinals, natives of the kingdom of Italy, was compelled to leave the capital, whence he went to Ferrara, and established his residence in that city till the end of the year 1809, when, with all the rest of the Cardinals, he was summoned to Paris. There, either intimidated by the violent measures then in progress against the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Roman clergy, or allured and overcome by the flattering attentions and marks of esteem that he received from Napoleon's ministers, the weakness of humanity at all events overcame his fortitude, and caused him to manifest sentiments of extraordinary condescension to the pretension of the Government. During his residence in Paris, Rovarella was the principal mover and promoter of the inconsiderate acts committed by many of his colleagues; and, in 1811, when he was despatched, together with the other Cardinals, to Savona, instead of acting in a manner conformable to the confidence that Pius VII. reposed in him, he it was, on the contrary, who, by his suggestions, induced that best of Pontiffs to adopt those measures and make those concessions that cost him so many tears. He maintained, in fact, throughout the entire course of the operations that ended in such a melancholy result, a powerful influence over all the rest of his colleagues.

Particularly the Cardinals Giuseppe Doria and Dugnani, both pious and well-conducted, but timid, modest men, were thoroughly devoted to their leader, and would even swear by all he said and did; while, on the contrary, Rovarella behaved towards them with a judicial, dictatorial air, as if they were his bounden disciples. Meanwhile the octogenarian Cardinal, De Bayanne, completely overcome by the French courtier bishops, his countrymen, was persuaded by them to support the Government through thick and thin; and as for Fabrizio Ruffo, though he was a man of superior talent and considerable reputation on fiscal matters, who had also distinguished himself at the head of a corps of insurgents, he always candidly confessed he was no theologist, and was ignorant of canon law.

The result of the negotiation, therefore, and no wonder, was precisely what the most clear-sighted and best-informed persons had anticipated. The Pope—hampered in some degree by his promise given at Savona to the first deputation, and besieged by so many of Napoleon's agents, whose presence announced a long series of evils ready to fall upon the Church in case of his refusal, receiving neither encouragement nor assistance from the five Cardinals, who were compelled by their engagement made at Paris to enforce the pro-

jects of the Government, yielded—and not only permitted the Bulls of Confirmation, according to the ancient form, which he had hitherto positively refused, to be despatched to the various bishops, but approved and confirmed by a Brief the decree of the Assembly of Bishops held at Paris. In this Brief, which is published in the work of the Archbishop of Tours, called 'Fragmens relatifs,' &c., that I have often before referred to, and is a most singular document, drawn up, as report said at the time, by the Cardinal Rovarella, the Pope not only approved of the prescribed mode of confirmation of the bishops, and of all that had been done by the Council in Paris, but appeared, so to say, to be almost ready to dance with joy at the felicitous announcement of their decree, which he seemed to acknowledge as the creation of his own mind, conformable in every respect to his wishes, and a new proof of the filial devotion of the Gallican Church to the chair of S. Peter. The same decree, which contained in substance the clause maliciously suggested by the Ecclesiastical Council to the Emperor to be annexed to the Concordat, had been repeatedly rejected for many days by the Pope at Savona the year before, and was now insisted on by the Emperor as an indispensable condition of the new negotiation.

In this Brief Pius VII., at all events, was made to pronounce a warmer eulogy in favour of the bishops of the late Council than he had formerly addressed to those of their predecessors who, having courageously shown resistance in the face of the National Assembly, really did deserve the title of true confessors of the faith. Were it not that I actually saw the minute of the Brief in question, which was despatched to France, among the papers addressed to the Pope at Fontainebleau, I could not have believed that such a paper existed, or at least I could not have imagined it possible to be composed in the terms that appear cited in the 'Fragmens,' &c.

How, in fact, can one persuade one's self that the composer of the Brief, Cardinal Rovarella, really imagined that the Pope would, in a document intended to originate and advise a decree so prejudicial to the sacred, precious rights of the Apostolic See, affirm that he approved it with expressions of delight and jubilee; that at the same time he was thankful to the bishops of the Assembly; and that he recognised in their act a new proof of filial devotion and of the unalterable attachment of the Gallican Church towards the chair of S. Peter and the Apostolic See? How can one believe that the Pope would not have perceived the absurdity of de-

claring that, at the expiration of six months after presenting the names for canonical institution, provided the institution were not given by the Pope to those nominated, it could or ought to be given in the name of the Pope by the metropolitan or the senior bishop of the province? For either the person nominated by the Emperor must be worthy and fit to receive the canonical institution and confirmation, in which case it is not to be imagined that, controversies being at an end, and in peaceful times, a Pope would venture to refuse it from mere caprice without assigning a reason; or, the party in question must be a person undeserving and unfit for confirmation; such a person as the Pope, obeying always the dictates of his own conscience, and bearing in mind the ancient maxim of law, founded on common sense, "qui per alium facit, per se ipsum facere videtur,"[1] never could himself confer the canonical institution upon, nor could permit it to be conferred in his name by the metropolitan or senior bishop. How wide is the difference between the absurd Brief in question suggested to the Pope by the Cardinals and deputy prelates and the beautifully energetic letter referred to in another

[1] Whoever performs an act through the means of another person is considered to perform it himself.

place, which was written by the Holy Father, in the same city of Savona, to the Cardinal Caprara, at a period when nobody, with the exception of a few of his own private attendants, was about him!

I shall have occasion to speak of this Brief again in the course of these pages, and then the evils that might have arisen, had it taken its full effect, will be more clearly indicated; meanwhile the French bishops of the deputation immediately despatched to Paris news by telegraph of this their real victory over the Roman Church, imagining they would soon triumphantly return to France to receive the commendations of the Emperor and the reward of their services; but the Emperor, contrary to their expectations, refused to receive the Brief in question, and a short time afterwards the entire CARAVAN were ordered to return to the capital. It happened, however, previous to their arrival thither, that four bishops of the deputation, who had gone from Savona, I think, to Turin, soon after the Pope had signed the Brief, received an order to return to Savona for the purpose of making new demands on the Pope in the name of the Emperor, which demands the Pope, on the other hand, declined to agree to. From which circumstance a report arose in Paris that the Emperor had refused to accept the

Brief by reason, in the first place, that it declared the Roman Church to be mother and mistress of all the other churches; and, in the second place, because it rendered it imperative upon the archbishops and bishops authorized to give the canonical institution and confirmation to the persons nominated after six months, to declare expressly that they gave the said institution and confirmation in the name of the Pope.

These, however, were not in my opinion the true reasons that induced Napoleon to refuse to accept it, since the Gallican Church from the earliest ages, by almost all its acts and writings, has invariably recognised in the Roman Church the indisputable quality of mother and mistress of all the other churches: a quality that has been further confirmed in the works of the two luminaries of the Gallican clergy, Incmar, Archbishop of Rheims, in the ninth century, and the illustrious Bossuet, in the seventeenth century. Now Napoleon, as is very well known, in all his operations with reference to ecclesiastical matters, was invariably desirous of having it believed that he followed the maxims of the Gallican Church; and therefore, with regard to the condition imposed upon the archbishops and bishops in giving the canonical institution, he

might well have been contented to gain his principal object of wresting from the Roman Pontiffs the power of recalling indocile, disobedient churches to a sense of their duty, and have reserved the execution of the said condition to a future convenient time. In fact, his refusal to accept the Brief ought to be attributed to another motive, which does not appear to me very difficult to imagine. Though Napoleon by that Brief had certainly gained enough, there yet remained a great deal more to be attempted for the full completion of his designs; and especially, among the many other difficulties that he had to overcome, there was the very arduous task of inducing the Pope and the Sacred College to abandon all further hope of re-acquiring temporal dominion, and of persuading them to give their consent to the new order of things determined on by himself, and to reassume the government of the Church as a subject and subjects of the Empire. Now, had he accepted the Brief, as aforesaid, he would have been obliged, conformably with the tenor of the declaration proposed to be made by the deputy archbishops and bishops, to re-establish the Pope in a state of full liberty, or at least to mitigate in a very great degree the rigours of his imprisonment, permit him to have communication with the faithful of all the

countries in the world, and restore to him the banished cardinals and the other ministers, whose services were indispensable for the discharge of his duties, and for the exercise of universal jurisdiction. The Emperor, on the other hand, very plainly perceived that, by carrying such conciliatory measures as the above into execution, new difficulties in the way of future negotiation would arise in consequence, and the Pope would be rendered less pliable and condescending to his wishes. At the same time he flattered himself that, by persevering in the system of oppression he had practised hitherto, and by renewing at a future period his assaults by means of the courtier bishops and the cardinals, who had now become his liege subjects, he would in the end be able effectually to overcome the resistance of the Holy Father and gain all he wanted. In my opinion this was the true motive that determined him not to accept the aforesaid Brief, or carry its provisions into execution.

Thence it followed that, during the whole of the following winter and the spring of 1812, at which period Napoleon was turning all his thoughts to his celebrated fatal expedition to Russia, the Holy Father was suffered to remain undisturbed in his tranquil confinement at Savona. At Savona he remained accord-

ingly until the 9th of June of the same year, 1812, when at seven o'clock in the evening his Holiness was suddenly and unexpectedly ordered to prepare himself for a journey to France; then he was obliged to change his clothes for a costume likely to prevent his person from being recognised on the road, and actually departed about ten o'clock the same night on his route to Italy. After a long, painful journey, that I have previously taken occasion to refer to, continued through the hottest hours of the day with extraordinary rapidity, he arrived at the convent of Cistercian monks situated on the summit of Mont Cenis at a late hour of the night, accompanied by Monsignor Bertazzoli, who, on passing Stupinigi, in the vicinity of Turin, was sent for on purpose, and, there entering the carriage with the Holy Father, never afterwards left him during the journey. It was then that the Holy Father, as I have related before, so soon as he arrived in the convent, was seized with a serious illness, that induced the officer of the gendarmerie who accompanied him to think it necessary to make a special report to the Government at Turin, and request instructions whether or not, under the circumstances of the case, to proceed; and that the Government replied to the officer that he must proceed at all events. On the morning of the 14th,

accordingly, notwithstanding the holy viaticum had been administered to the Holy Father, he was obliged to resume his place in the carriage the same night, and travel night and day till he arrived on the morning of the 20th at Fontainebleau, without stopping or being allowed once during the whole of the period to get out of the carriage, which invariably, at times when the escort halted to take refreshment at the inn of the village or thinly-inhabited town selected on purpose, was driven, with the Pope still remaining inside, into the coach-house. On arriving at the Imperial Palace at Fontainebleau the gatekeeper refused to admit the Holy Father, in consequence of not having yet received from the administration at Paris orders to that effect; wherefore the Pope was conducted in the mean time to a private residence situated within a short distance. The order, however, to admit the Pope into the palace having arrived a few hours afterwards, thither he went accordingly, and there some of the Emperor's ministers arrived forthwith from the capital to pay him a complimentary visit.

The reason which the Emperor and his ministers assigned for the unexpected removal of the Pope from Savona to Fontainebleau is said to have been grounded on the apprehension that they at that time entertained

of the intended object of some English ships that were cruizing in the Mediterranean, for the supposed purpose of attempting a sudden landing at Savona and setting the Pope at liberty.[1] But Napoleon's true motive was to bring the Pope to the vicinity of Paris, and there cause him to be surrounded by persons who, by continual worrying and pressing importunities, might ultimately prevail upon him to consent to whatever he chose to propose. The thing the most difficult of all to be understood is his being compelled to make the journey with such violent, precipitate haste, that certainly would have cost him his life had it not been preserved by the especial favour of Providence, while his death could have been of no service to Napoleon, but, on the contrary, would decidedly have disconcerted his designs, inasmuch as, though he had already obtained a great deal from the Pontiff, he still, no doubt, expected to gain *much* more. Indeed, I cannot attribute the extreme severity of the measures in question adopted towards Pius VII. to any other motive than the desire, by continually harassing him in body and mind, to weaken his intellectual faculties, and

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[1] 'Histoire de l'Ambassade dans le Grand Duché de Varsovie en 1812.'

thence, by impairing his reason, to subdue his heroic patience.

The health of the Holy Father on arriving at Fontainebleau was in fact so precarious, that he lay sick in bed for many weeks afterwards, in a state that gave general reason to apprehend a fatal termination. While the Holy Father was thus lying on a sick bed, the cardinals, who at that time resided in Paris under the title of *Red Cardinals*, and those of the French bishops who especially enjoyed Napoleon's favour, were permitted to come to Fontainebleau from Paris to visit him; and after a little while those cardinals and prelates, who with that object passed the night in Fontainebleau, were provided with chambers in the Imperial Palace. In their conversations with the Pope, these cardinals and prelates exerted all their endeavours to dispose him to accommodate matters with the Emperor, and to prepare his mind for the great sacrifices which they were aware Napoleon would exact. They represented to him the truly lamentable state of the Universal Church, "existing, as it were, a headless trunk for several years without its supreme ruler, while, on the other hand, the faithful were deprived of the privilege of communicating with their chief, and the latter was debarred from the exercise of his apostolic ministry,

The Church of Rome, too," they said, "was in a condition unexampled in history, almost entirely deprived of her venerable clergy, as were in fact the widowed churches of various foreign nations, that had remained for several years without their legitimate pastors." From this melancholy picture they deduced as the inevitable consequence, provided immediate remedial measures failed to be adopted, "the slackening, if not the total rupture, of the ties that bind the churches to their centre of unity, and, if not a schism of long-extended duration, at least a thorough state of ecclesiastical anarchy." They moreover exaggerated the extraordinary "influence of the prevailing philosophical sects, whom even Napoleon himself," they said, "paid regard to and feared to irritate." In order to make a still deeper impression on the mind of the Pope, and to excite his compassion, they called to his recollection the severe imprisonment that many of his cardinals and prelates were then enduring, as well as the sufferings and insults to which the ecclesiastics of the pontifical states were subjected by being banished from city to city, and dragged from one prison to another; all which grave evils, they added, could never come to an end until a reconciliation were effected between the Pope and the Emperor. Such arguments, it cannot be de-

nied, being founded on truth, were indisputably calculated to make an impression on any indifferent person, and, consequently, were still more effective when addressed to the Pope, whose mind and body were reduced by persecution to a pitiable state of weakness.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Negotiations of Napoleon after the Russian Campaign with Pius VII. at Fontainebleau — Visit of the Emperor and the Empress to his Holiness — The Pope signs the Concordat — Letter from Napoleon to the Pope on the subject of the latter — Consultation of the Cardinals — The Cardinals advise the Pope to nullify the Concordat — Letter of the Pope to the Emperor in consequence — Allocution of the Pope to the Cardinals — Arrest of Cardinal Di Pietro, and other measures taken by Napoleon in consequence of the Pope's Retractation of the Concordat — Allocution to serve as a Protest delivered by the Pope to the Cardinals.

IT was when the Holy Father had resided five months at Fontainebleau that the Emperor Napoleon, returning unexpectedly to Paris after his unfortunate and memorable expedition to Russia, girded himself with his incredible, unconquerable activity to repair his losses, and aroused the nation to her utmost capabilities by fresh levies; at the same time being aware of the importance of a real or at least an apparent reconciliation with the Pope under existing circumstances. He knew that the number of true Catholics in France was much greater than generally imagined, and that, the more frequent his differences and controversies with the Holy See, the

more those subjects became alienated from himself and his Government. At the same time the German princes and their ministers, who scarcely brooked dependence on his authority, took the opportunity, notwithstanding they themselves disregarded in their own states the rights of the Apostolic See even more than he did in France, to avail themselves of the public expression of sympathy with the Pope under his state of imprisonment, and did all in their power to prejudice and irritate their Catholic subjects against the French nation. Influenced therefore by such cogent reasons, Napoleon bestirred himself to open a new negotiation with the Pope at Fontainebleau, with a view to obtain his consent and approval of the proposals made to him at Savona by the first deputation of bishops. With that end in view he availed himself of the convenient opportunity at the commencement of the new year of 1813 of sending a chamberlain of his court to Fontainebleau, for the purpose of formally offering his compliments to his Holiness and inquiring after his health. By this act of courtesy and expediency, and in return for the Emperor's civility, the Pope finding himself placed under the necessity of sending to Paris one of his own attendants to deliver his thanks to the monarch, the Cardinal Giuseppe Doria was chosen for the occasion, an individual who happened

to be well esteemed in Paris, where he had previously served as nuncio, and was in high favour with Napoleon. The result accordingly of the short visit of this cardinal to Paris on the occasion in question was, that it was mutually agreed to set on foot a new negotiation with his Holiness, to carry which into effect Monsignor Du Voisin, Bishop of Nantes, whose talent and dexterity in the management of public affairs were such that the Pope could hardly hope to find a champion capable of standing against him, was appointed diplomatist on the part of the Emperor.

Monsignor Giovanni Batista Du Voisin, Bishop of Nantes, on the occasion in question was placed in a position that, whatever might be the result of the negotiation, he himself would probably gain much credit by the success of his enterprise; whereas, on the contrary, even in case the projects of his sovereign ended in disappointment, he would be no loser. There were united in him at all events all those qualifications that form an able negotiator, especially on the affairs of the Church. Even from his early youth he had deservedly acquired a high character for learning and proficiency in the sciences; in fact, he was not only Doctor and Professor of the Sorbonne, but he had published various works in defence of religion that gained him much esteem in

France. He had had many opportunities of acquiring experience in diplomatic business by official employment at Paris as Vicar-General of the bishopric of Laon, and during the frequent turbulent vicissitudes that harassed the Gallican Church at the time of the revolution; in addition to which, having subsequently ingratiated himself with Napoleon, and becoming a frequenter of the court, he there found means to add to his former accomplishments insinuating manners and acquaintance with diplomatic usages that to no inconsiderable amount contributed to the success of his political negotiations.

It was a few days after Cardinal Doria had returned to Fontainebleau that Du Voisin arrived there, and presented to the Pope on the part of the Emperor a paper of propositions, which probably was the same that his Holiness soon after my arrival in that city gave me to read. Thenceforward began the conferences, in which the parties were, I presume, the Archbishop of Tours, the Bishops of Treves and Evreux, the four Cardinals Doria, Dugnani, Ruffo, and De Bayanne, and Monsignor Bertazzoli, all of whom were at that time residing in apartments assigned to them in the Imperial Palace.

I am not acquainted with the precise particulars of these conferences, though I know for certain that one of

the high functionaries of the police-office at Paris wrote a letter at the period in question to the individual nominated by the Emperor Bishop of Metz, who in spite of the Pope's briefs had installed himself in the government of that church as Vicar-General and Capitular, encouraging him to be of good heart, and assuring him that in a short time he would certainly receive from the Pope his canonical institution and confirmation. Moreover, the expression, "Oh, if I could tell you all! oh, if I could tell you all!" was several times repeated in the letter.

So soon as the regulators of the conspiracy came to know that the Pope was not only wavering but even appeared inclined to yield at last to their repeated persevering demands, they determined to transfer the glory of the final conclusion of the treaty to Napoleon himself. The Emperor accordingly, to whom they reported the progress of their machinations daily, suddenly arrived at Fontainebleau on the evening of the 19th of January, and, accompanied by the Empress Maria Louisa, paid an unexpected visit to the Pope. The Emperor and Empress went to his Holiness immediately on their arrival, and found him in conversation with the cardinals and bishops abovementioned, who lived in the palace, and then immediately retired from the royal presence, upon

which Napoleon, stepping nimbly forward as if the Pope and himself had been on terms of the most perfect harmony, embraced and kissed his Holiness, making all manner of demonstrations of cordial friendship, but abstaining from entering upon matters of business during the whole of the interview. The Pope meanwhile was gratified beyond measure with these external appearances, and even mentioned, without hesitation and with extraordinary complacency, to one of his attendants, that the Emperor had embraced and kissed him; which state of mind of his Holiness indisputably proves the extraordinary degree of weakness to which his sufferings and the illness he had lately undergone had reduced his intellectual faculties at a time when the Emperor made upon him the abovementioned final assault, for the exclusive purpose of obtaining his signature to the Concordat. Certain conferences and conversations between the Pope and Napoleon then took place for a few days successively, with reference to which many verbal and printed accounts have been given, that are for the most part void of foundation. In a little work especially, called 'Bonaparte and the Bourbons,' the illustrious author states that in one of the aforesaid colloquies Napoleon was transported by a fit of fury to such a degree that he seized the Pope by the hair, and treated

him most injuriously; though the Pope, who was frequently interrogated on this particular point, invariably denied the truth of it, acknowledging at the same time, or allowing it to be gathered from his expressions, that the tone of behaviour of the Emperor in his conversation was authoritative, occasionally even contemptuous, and that in one instance he proceeded to the length of plainly telling him he was insufficiently versed in ecclesiastical matters. What is certain is that the conferences ended finally on the evening of the 25th by the Pope signing the Concordat.

The circumstances attending the conclusion of this fatal treaty have never been thoroughly known; though on sufficiently good authority it has been ascertained that, in order to induce the Pope to sign the document, he was made to believe the articles were merely preliminary, and not to be communicated to the public until the cardinals in council should determine the proper mode of carrying their provisions into execution. It is also a matter beyond doubt that the Pope, when the cardinals and bishops were importuning him to accelerate the adjustment of the matters in question, and while at the same time being outraged by the presence of the Emperor, and in an extraordinary state of agitation he cast his eyes imploringly on those around him,

as if to beseech their support and advice in his dilemma, and was replied to by a nod of the head and a shrug of the shoulders of one or more of his councillors, an action such as is commonly used to imply a total want of resource and the necessity of resignation,—the Pope, at the moment that he put his signature to the ill-omened paper, gave it clearly to be understood, by his hesitating manner, that he actually felt the step he was taking to be a false one, and against his own heart's inclination.

When the Concordat was signed, the subject of the recall of the Cardinals who had been banished was immediately discussed, and the liberation of those at that time confined in the state prisons was agreed upon, though with regard to myself there was a considerable difficulty to be overcome, and, to use the Pope's own words, "a regular battle was fought to obtain my liberty," inasmuch as the Emperor strenuously reiterated the objection, "Pacca is my enemy!" At last Napoleon gave up the point, and, observing that he never did anything by halves, forthwith caused a courier to be despatched to Turin with an order for my release to the governor.

The following morning the Emperor presented to the Cardinals Doria and Ruffo and to Monsignor Bertazzoli each a gold snuffbox, with his picture on the lid

set round with large brilliants, appointing at the same time the two first-mentioned personages officers of the Legion of Honour, and the other a knight of the Iron Crown. The latter prelate very judiciously never availed himself of the privilege of wearing the insignia of the order, but, on the contrary, very soon afterwards took an opportunity to rid himself of the donative, and apply the price for which he sold the ornament to the support of a pious establishment. Cardinal Doria's chaplain, who transcribed the articles, was honoured with a ring containing a single brilliant, such as is commonly called in France a "solitaire;" each of the Pope's attendants received a sum of money; and, by special command of Napoleon, the conclusion of the Concordat was immediately officially announced to the whole empire, and a solemn Te Deum celebrated in all the churches.

Meanwhile the Pope, so long as the Emperor remained at Fontainebleau, manifested no outward appearance of the feelings that agitated his heart with regard to what had happened; but so soon as Napoleon was gone he fell into a state of profound despondency, and was attacked by fever. Conversing with the cardinals, particularly Cardinal di Pietro, on their arrival at Fontainebleau, and discussing the subject of the articles to

which he had just affixed his signature, he at once saw by the undisguised expression of their countenances the fatal consequences likely to be the fruit of that ill-advised deed, and became so horror-struck and afflicted in consequence, that for several days he abstained from the celebration of the holy sacrifice under the impression that he had acted unworthily. Neither did he conceal the reason from the French bishops and cardinals who were residing in the palace, and was with difficulty prevailed upon, even after the arguments and suggestions of a pious, learned dignitary, again to come near the altar. It was then and for that reason that Napoleon, aware of the impression created on the mind of the Pope, and fearing that, in spite of his engagement, he would retract and revoke all he had agreed to, determined, as above stated, forthwith to make known to the public what had been done, and the conclusion of the Concordat was accordingly solemnly announced by the Archchancellor Cambacérès to the Conservative Senate.

I have already related what a melancholy, sinister impression was created on the minds of good people, and how great a triumph was afforded the philosophers and Jansenists, by the publication of the articles; the Pope had, in fact, too incautiously flattered himself that the act would have remained for a time unknown,

and probably, were it not for such a flattering illusion, might never have been induced to cede the point in question. Afterwards, perceiving the general disapprobation, and, as it were, shudder of the public mind among all religious, well conducted persons, he fell into that hapless state of deep melancholy which I before attempted to describe, on the occasion of my arrival at Fontainebleau. When the deed was finally concluded, and the signature of the Holy Father was actually appended to the pretended preliminaries of the future Concordat, the rigorous state of confinement in which he was kept was considerably alleviated; though for some months subsequently, nobody was allowed to approach his sacred person but the French bishops above mentioned, those of the *red* cardinals who were residing in Paris, and a few of the Emperor's ministers. However, after the above-mentioned interval, permission was then given to people to come in the morning and hear the Pope celebrate the mass, and when the mass was over, to go into a chamber contiguous to the chapel, and kiss the Holy Father's feet. No sooner did this permission come to be known throughout France, than people began to arrive in crowds from all parts of the country, so that the number altogether, during the whole period, of persons coming from a distance, amounted to not less than a

hundred thousand, of all grades and conditions. All behaved during the mass of the Holy Father with exemplary, fervent devotion, and though the Pope was assisted by Monsignor Bertazzoli, Archbishop of Edessa, very many were the individuals who had the consolation of receiving the sacred Eucharist from the hands of his Holiness. It was a spectacle that affected the religious congregation even to tears, and necessarily contributed much to revive in the hearts of Frenchmen the ancient faith of their forefathers.

At this time, and for several days successively, the archbishops and bishops summoned by Napoleon from various parts of France and Italy, for the purpose of concerting measures with the Pope and the cardinals, relative to carrying into effect the execution of the Concordat, continued to arrive; personages who, with the exception of a few of good reputation who were supposed to be attached to the Apostolic see, were chosen by Napoleon almost exclusively from among those whom he believed to be the most docile and pliable to his wishes, the most remarkable for their courtier-like temperament, and the most notorious for their hatred towards the Pope and the Roman court. For example, those whose names I heard mentioned, including some I myself saw, were the celebrated Lecoz, Archbishop of

Besançon, previously intruded into the episcopal see of Rennes; Perier, Bishop of Avignon, previously intruded a Constitutional[1] in the see of Grenoble; Monsignor della Torre, Archbishop of Turin; Monsignor the Bishop of Pavia; Monsignor Buonsignori, Bishop of Faenza, nominated to the patriarchal church of Venice, to which he administered previously under the title of capitular vicar; Monsignor d'Ormond, Bishop of Nancy, nominated Archbishop of Florence, where, in spite of the Pope, who had issued a Brief to that metropolitan chapter to the effect that he should not govern that church as their vicar, he violently intruded himself notwithstanding, and had been the cause of the exile and imprisonment of several canons, venerable on account of their moral qualities and their learning, some of whom were my fellow-prisoners at Fenestrelle. There were also Monsignor de Beaumont, Bishop of Piacenza, nominated to the metropolitan church of Bourges; Monsignor Dania, Bishop of Albenza; Monsignor Selvi, Bishop of Grossetto in Tuscany; and, finally, one Vancamp, parish priest of Antwerp, nominated by the Emperor the new Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, a country which, previous to the re-

[1] See vol. i. page 231.

establishment there of the Holy See, which was suppressed by the Calvinists at the celebrated Reformation in the seventeenth century, belonged to the mission in Dutch Brabant.

All the above-mentioned prelates, as well as others who arrived afterwards in compliance with the Emperor's summons, either before or after their arrival at Paris, came to pay their compliments to the Pope at Fontainebleau. Among the rest the so-called patriarch of Venice, the Archbishop of Florence, and the Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, actually thought proper to be announced under those titles; as to which proceeding, I hardly know whether to be most astonished at the unblushing impudence of the dignitaries who, at the very moment when they said they came to pay homage to the Pope, substantially inflicted a new insult upon him, or the imbecility of the persons who presented them to the Holy Father under such outrageously usurped titles. There resulted, at all events, from the circumstance an evil that increased good people's affliction and originated no trifling degree of scandal; for the Pope, whose natural disposition was inclined to kindness and courtesy, debilitated at the time in body and in spirit by his late illness, and the regret of having signed the Concordat, favoured all persons alike with the same gracious

reception, and treated everybody with similar courtesy and cordiality, without making any distinction of merit in the different individuals, and without giving the disobedient revolutionary prelates to understand, if not by words and reproaches, at least by a serious expression of countenance, the just motives of his displeasure and the weight of his disapprobation. They, on their part, turned the gracious bearing of the Pope to profitable account, and writing letters almost the very moment after the audience, to their adherents in the provinces, described in highly flattering terms the manner of their reception, as a demonstration that the Pope never had disapproved, and still was fully satisfied with, their past conduct.

Such was the state of things at Fontainebleau when, on the evening of the 27th of February, 1813, I returned there from Paris. There were at that time residing in the palace, and occupying apartments near those of the Pope, the Cardinals Doria, Dugnani, and Ruffo, who, as I before stated, had had permission to visit his Holiness and bear him company ever since the day of his arrival from Savona, in June, 1812. When the other cardinals were liberated from the state prisons and recalled from banishment or deportation, the Pope was given to understand that he might select any of those

he preferred to reside in the palace near his sacred person; in consequence of which permission, he accordingly chose the Cardinals Mattei, dean of the Sacred College, Della Somaglia, Di Pietro, Gabrielli, Consalvi, and myself. The measure, however, in my opinion, was ill-advised, inasmuch as the partiality shown to the cardinals who were favoured with the privilege would probably occasion a feeling of dissatisfaction among the rest, who remained excluded from the royal mansion, and were obliged to take lodgings in the city. I can easily understand that the Pope would certainly have acted indiscreetly in summoning to the palace all the cardinals who had at that time arrived at Fontainebleau for the purpose of joining him, and that in making his selection he could not do otherwise than choose those who in Rome had held the most important appointments in Church and State; at the same time, had I arrived previous to his coming to a determination on the subject, I should certainly have advised him to allow all those he wished to live in the palace to be selected by the Emperor, and to name no one in particular. Those who lodged in the city were able and in fact did render him as valuable assistance by their counsels as those who resided in the palace. There is no doubt, and I know it to be a fact, that the preference paid by the

Pope to the six cardinals above mentioned gave offence to one or more of the others, and if a general want of harmony were not the consequence, it is to be attributed to the circumstance that among those who were excluded from residence in the palace were to be numbered persons remarkable for their private virtues, such as Pignatelli, Saluzzo, Ruffo, Scilla, Scotti, Litta, Biancadoro, Galeffi, and Opizzoni.

Lodgings in the palace were also provided for Monsignor Bertazzoli, Doctor Porta, physician to the Pope, and the French prelates to whom I have already several times referred, namely, the Archbishop of Tours, and Bishops of Treves, Nantes, and Evreux, all which latter personages were placed there by the Emperor, for the apparent purpose of paying court to the Pope, but really as spies upon his conduct, and to accelerate the conclusion of the Concordat. The governor of the palace, General le Comte de S. Sulpice, also resided in the mansion, as well as Monsieur Lagorse, colonel of the gendarmes, who escorted the Pope from Savona, and under whose charge the sacred person of the Holy Father afterwards remained in custody. On the 28th, the day after my arrival, Monsignor Bertazzoli came to my apartment, and brought me, by order of the Pope,

a copy of the articles of the Concordat, together with a note written by the Emperor to his Holiness on the evening the latter signed it. This note, which till then I had not heard of, was conceived in the following terms:—

"MOST BLESSED FATHER,

"UNDERSTANDING that your Holiness, on signing the articles of the Concordat, whereby the dissensions that afflicted the Church have been brought to a close, was under some apprehension that the act might amount to an explicit renunciation of your Holiness's pretensions with regard to the Roman States, I derive pleasure in assuring your Holiness, by the present communication, that never having felt myself justified in requiring the renunciation of the temporal sovereignty of the Roman States, your Holiness need be under no manner of fear that your Holiness's signature to the said articles can ever, either directly or indirectly, be considered a renunciation of your Holiness's rights and pretensions.

"In treating with the Pope, I have considered him solely in his quality of Head of the Church, and with regard to spiritual matters.

" In the meantime, most blessed Father, I pray to God that he may preserve to you for many years the government of our Holy Mother the Church.

" Your most devoted son,

(Signed) " NAPOLEON.[1]

" *Fontainebleau, 25th January,* 1813."

On reading the above letter I was surprised to find that the Pope, or his advisers, had not been induced to keep concealed and suppress a document which is by no means creditable to the Holy Father, and might be considered a new sarcastic insult from the Emperor

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[1] " BEATISSIMO PADRE,

" Essendomi accorto che la Santità vostra nel sottoscrivere gli articoli del Concordato, che danno un termine alle divisioni che affliggono la Chiesa, stava in qualche timore, che si potesse da cio dedurne una implicita rinunzia alle sue pretensioni sugli Stati Romani; mi fo un piacere di assicurarla colla presente, che non avendo io mai creduto di doverle chiedere una rinunzia della sovranità temporale degli Stati Romani, vostra Santità non deve avere alcun timore che si possa giammai pensare ch' ella colla sottoscrizione dei detti articoli abbia o direttamente o indirettamente ai suoi diritti ed alle sue pretensioni rinunziato.

" Io ho trattato col Papa considerandolo nella sua qualità di Capo della Chiesa, ed in materie spirituali.

" In tanto, Beatissimo Padre, prego Iddio che lo conservi per molti anni al governo della nostra Santa Madre Chiesa.

" Vostro devotissimo Figlio,

(Firmato) " NAPOLEON.

" *Fontainebleau,* 25 *Gennaio,* 1813."

Napoleon. For it not only speaks of the sacred, indisputable right of the Apostolic See over the Roman States as "mere pretensions," but, to come to the full extent of the meaning, it even intimates that the Emperor never had the intention of asking the renunciation of what he himself had no desire to possess. Moreover another point, that by the publication of the letter was likely to reflect a still greater degree of disgrace upon the Pope, was the conclusion that malevolent persons not intimately acquainted with the modest humility of Pius VII. might deduce from it, namely, that on putting his signature to articles so destructive of ecclesiastical liberty, and contrary to the constitution bequeathed by Jesus Christ to the Church, he was influenced and agitated by no other sentiment than the fear of renouncing and abdicating the temporal dominions of the Holy See. Such a conclusion were no less injurious to Pius VII. than contrary to his disposition, which was foreign from all manner of ambitious speculation; on the contrary, it certainly would have cost him no pain whatever to have followed the example of Celestine, and with a tranquil mind, descending of his own accord from the Pontifical throne, seclude himself in a convent. Precisely such a sentiment was, in fact, promulgated in the bull of excommunication against

Bonaparte, where he expresses himself as follows:—"Riches and honours have never delighted us, neither the power of governing this our principality; such desires being in truth altogether contrary to our disposition and to the most holy institution which we have followed from the days of our youth, and have always loved."

After I had read the Emperor's letter to the Pope, and the articles of the Concordat, Monsignor Bertazzoli informed me that the Holy Father had desired all the Cardinals to put each in writing his opinion upon the latter, and at the same time subjoin any remarks they might think necessary; which done, he further enjoined them to deliver the papers themselves personally into his own hands. From this day forward, therefore, we Cardinals proceeded to discuss secretly among ourselves the important subject intrusted to our deliberations, relative to which it is perfectly impossible to conceive an idea,—looking back at the present day to the period, now that the prospect of those calamitous times is remote, and the circumstances in great measure obliterated by other important events that have followed,—it is impossible, I say, to conceive an idea of the complicated, painful position in which we then found ourselves. We had, in the first place, to treat of

matters that had been already arranged and concluded between the Pope himself, and the Emperor, while the articles agreed upon actually bore the signatures of both sovereigns; whence at first sight the duty of the councillors appeared to be limited to merely determining upon the means of carrying the provisions of the Concordat into speedy execution. Secondly, our consultations were held at a spot far removed from Rome, where men versed in the theological and canonical sciences are always to be found ready to afford their assistance; and documents and memoranda are to be referred to in the public and private archives. Thirdly, we assembled in one of Napoleon's palaces, where, surrounded by his ministers, familiars, and domestics, we were obliged for prudence sake not to give our proceedings the appearance of the secret machinations of a conventicle, and, consequently, avoided being seen together in numbers sufficient to give our meetings the character of a congregation or congress. To all these difficulties, as regarded my personal feelings, was to be added the bitter regret I felt at seeing the Sacred College divided into the two factions, *red cardinals* and *black cardinals*, and of finding even among the latter a want of harmony in their way of thinking, that I conceived ought to exist among persons engaged in the

same line of operations, and subject to the same adverse vicissitudes. Moreover, the knowledge I privately possessed of the character of my colleagues gave me no little reason to fear that of some at least it might be said, in the words of Tertullian, "Novi pastores, in pace leones, in prælio cervos."[1]

In spite of such disadvantages, and such well-founded apprehensions, God was pleased nevertheless to bestow his blessing on the holy intentions of the Pope, and thenceforward to inspire him with a degree of firmness and constancy truly apostolic. Neither did the Almighty withhold from the cardinals who then enjoyed the confidence of the Pontiff the lights necessary for their guidance, under their melancholy important calling; but endued accordingly with the virtues that the Holy Spirit lauds in the Roman senate,—

"*By their policy and patience they conquered;*"[2]

and the individuals who before had been enabled to support with fortitude exile and deprivation of the honours and advantages belonging to their dignity, were now qualified to render to the Pope sweet

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[1] New pastors, lions in peace, in war (*timid*) stags. Maccabees viii. 4.

counsel and prudent suggestions, such as not only enabled him to extricate himself with credit from his terribly painful predicament, but to arrive finally at such a pitch of glory that a year afterwards, as I have stated in another place, when travelling over a great part of France and Italy, he was everywhere received enthusiastically amid the general acclamations of the people.

The cardinals, in compliance with the order communicated to them by Monsignor Bertazzoli from their sovereign, brought each his written opinion relating to the articles of the Concordat, and delivered it personally into the hands of his Holiness. The cardinals who had been residing at Fontainebleau, and had taken part in the previous proceedings and conferences, as well as some of the *black* cardinals, who were of a timid, courtier-like disposition, were of opinion that the Concordat ought to be maintained; but at the same time giving way in some degree to the generally clamorous disapprobation of their colleagues, they proposed to re-open a negotiation with the deputies of the Emperor, in which the Concordat, already signed by both parties, being considered valid, they might still endeavour to ameliorate its conditions, and procure by the insertion of one or more additional articles terms more favourable

for the Pope and the Holy See. Several other cardinals, in reply to the above, declared what they had maintained from the first moment of their arrival at Fontainebleau, namely, that there existed no other remedy for the scandal that had been cast upon Catholicism, and for the very grave evils the Church must inevitably suffer from the execution of the Concordat, than a prompt retractation and thorough annulment of the whole from beginning to end; and in support of such a step, which they proposed to be taken by his Holiness, they alleged the example of Pasqual II., well known in ecclesiastical history. The two opinions above stated, the latter of which so soon as I arrived in Fontainebleau I myself freely enunciated, being the only two modes of viewing the question that could possibly be entertained, were consequently brought under our discussion on every possible occasion, either when we met one another out walking, or whenever, in the course of paying a visit to a sick colleague or otherwise, we were enabled to converse with one another under any circumstances not calculated to excite the suspicion of the French.

As regards the first matter of consideration, that of opening a new negotiation with the Emperor's deputies, it was argued that it were an act in itself

indecent, and disgraceful to the majesty of a Prince and the sublime dignity of the Head of the Church, to break his word in the face of the whole world, by thus declining to execute the provisions of a treaty concluded only a few days before, face to face, with a great sovereign, and signed with his own hand; the more so since he had obtained the most important advantage of having restored to him a great portion of the cardinals of the Holy College, who up to that period had been either banished to various parts of the country, or confined in state prisons. Such an announcement, they said, would in the highest degree irritate the Emperor Napoleon, who plumed himself upon the conclusion of the Concordat more than upon all the principal battles he had won; and would drive him to measures of persecution and open violence, such as he had hitherto abstained from, solely from the hope of reconciliation, and of founding the basis of the present Concordat with the Holy See. They further added, that the first sure effect of the revocation of the articles would be a repetition of the dispersion of the Sacred College at a time when, from the infirm state of the Pope's health, oppressed as he was by continued heavy distress, his life was precarious; that under the present ill-omened melancholy circumstances such an event might

produce, and naturally would produce consequences the most fatal, such as ought to be obviated by any sacrifice; to the end, that the cardinals might be kept in a state capable of acting as a united body, in case the terrible and decisive moment of trial above alluded to, should unhappily arrive. The cardinals who maintained the latter opinion brought another argument upon the *tapis*, which according to their thinking would most assuredly influence the French, and was difficult to be replied to. Either, said they, the concessions made by the Pope, by the Concordat of Fontainebleau, are essentially trivial, and consequently, compared with such an act as a Pope's breaking his word, not worthy their object; or the said concessions being fatal to the interests of the Church, and contrary to sound Catholic principles, may be of the deepest importance. How, therefore, will you Italians reconcile this grave error of the Pope, this backsliding, as it were, from the infallibility of the Roman Pontiffs? They then concluded by reverting to their proposition at the commencement, namely, to open a new treaty with the ministers or deputies of the Emperor, not with a view to the mere execution of the preliminary articles, but in the hope of being able to obtain more advantageous conditions, and render the said articles less

prejudicial to the good of the Church, by means of new clauses and modifications.

On the other hand the advocates of the contrary opinion asserted, that it were useless to enter into a new treaty, inasmuch as some of the articles were so essentially obnoxious, that it was impossible to modify or amend them by any manner of clause whatever; and therefore they maintained that the only remedy for the mischief done, was a clear, frank, explicit retractation by the Pope of all the articles. No doubt, they admitted, the consequence would be the indignation and fury of Napoleon at seeing, so to say, the prey snatched out of his mouth, and all his designs overturned in a moment; but that, they urged, was no reason for abandoning the holy maxim of Christian morality, which teaches us not to do an evil thing, whether the object be to gain a benefit or avoid a misfortune. Moreover, it was so far from derogatory to the Papal dignity to retract a promise given incautiously, that the Pope, they maintained, would on the contrary be even liable to censure, if from a culpable respect to human considerations he were to persist in adhering to an engagement, that militated against the oaths taken at his exaltation to the Pontificate, and must inevitably be a certain source of infinite evils to the Church.

Further, said they, the dispersion anew of the Sacred College is certainly an event to be dreaded under present circumstances, and in case of the death of the Holy Father at such a perilous crisis as the present, would be attended with lamentable consequences; but they argued, that such a speculation was a matter touching human affairs exclusively, and a question whereupon human prudence knows not the way to proceed, neither can it point out what is to happen, or find a remedy by anticipation. All we can do, therefore, they continued, is to throw ourselves into the arms of that Providence that watches over the Church's welfare, and has promised never to abandon it. In the year 1799, for example, the Roman Church was similarly placed under circumstances no less fearful than now, when by one of those miracles of Divine mercy that surpass human foresight, at the very precise time when the immortal Pius VI. departed from this world, the French were driven out of Italy, and thereby an opportunity was afforded for the reunion at Venice of the dispersed cardinals, who proceeded in a perfect state of liberty to the election of a new Pontiff, and consequently previous to the second change of scene, when all of a sudden, the French became once more masters of Italy, Pius VII. was already recognised as

Pontiff by the entire Catholic world, and all men were compelled, even those who were neither superstitious nor visionary in their ideas, to exclaim, according to the remarkable saying of the Scriptures,—

"*This is the finger of God.*"[1]

With regard to the argument which its supporters put into the mouth of the French hypothetically, it was affirmed not to be so sound in substance, as it appeared at first sight, but capable of being easily answered by admitting that the concessions made by the Pope *were* of the deepest importance, and such as might, and indisputably would, produce the most serious detriment to the Church. But it did not therefore follow as a consequence that the sentence of the Roman ecclesiastical law that pronounces the infallibility of the Roman Pontiffs would thereby be damaged; and for this plain reason,—because the Pope, having promised and granted what was prejudicial to the good of the Church, had done what he had no right to do, though, on the other hand, he had never ventured to inculcate any erroneous doctrine; wherefore, though his error was certainly a very grave one, it was not nevertheless

[1] Exod. viii. 19.

an error of doctrine, and consequently, with regard to the question of the Pope's infallibility, not liable to imputation, since the most ardent defenders of Pontifical rights, though they maintain that Popes are infallible in their doctrine, have never for a moment dreamt that they are equally infallible in their management of public affairs, or in their private conduct.

Among those of the Cardinals who had particularly distinguished themselves for their firmness and constancy in supporting the rights of the Church during our late vicissitudes, there was one in particular who was gifted with extraordinary singularity in his way of thinking; to such an extent, in fact, that, during all our meetings and consultations, his sentiments very rarely squared with the opinions of his colleagues; and almost invariably, between two different views of the same subject, he made a third proposal. In the present instance, the personage in question agreed with one party as to the expediency of not admitting any article in the Concordat, capable either of being interpreted as contrary to the discipline of the Church, or as pernicious to the rights of the Holy See, and injurious to the Pope and the ecclesiastical profession; but at the same time he sided with the other party so far as to agree to the entering upon a new negotiation, not with

a view to bring the Concordat to a conclusion; but in order to gain time, and by temporising, seek means to put an end to the conference without coming to a conclusion at all. His proposal, however, could by no means be admitted. In the first place, it would have been useless to endeavour to temporise; for the plenipotentiaries of Napoleon would at their very first meeting most certainly have insisted on retaining the articles of the Concordat as the basis of any new agreement that might be proposed, and consequently would not have permitted any discussion whatever on the merits of an established document. Then as to the breaking up the conference without coming to any conclusion, such a step would have irritated the Emperor almost as much as a decided and absolute retractation; while the measure itself would have borne the appearance of a carping official subterfuge, such as the Court of Rome is very frequently accused of having recourse to by foreigners. There was, moreover, a still stronger reason than any that has yet been mentioned, in favour of the revocation and entire annulment of the articles conceded; for supposing the treaty were broken up, on questions arising in the course of the negotiation, it would nevertheless always remain an established fact that the Pope, heretofore reputed a Saint,

and so esteemed and venerated all over Europe, had nevertheless actually made those concessions, and had agreed to those articles; whence in times to come, in the progress of controversies that might hereafter arise between foreign Courts and the Holy See, it might be urged by the former, that concessions and articles similar to those in question, although the latter, owing to a combination of circumstances, were not actually carried into effect, might, in consequence of being warranted by former proceedings, be considered of a nature such as Popes and the Apostolic See were at liberty to recognise. It was, therefore, not sufficient that the Pope should merely decline to carry into execution what he had incautiously promised and granted, but it was necessary that he should declare publicly and explicitly by a document bearing his signature, that by granting concessions which, not being legally authorised, he ought not to have made, he had committed a most grave error. Such a declaration would prevent, or, to use a common expression, would stop the mouth of any person who in future might be inclined to derive a precedent from the case in question.

The proposal of the prompt revocation of the Concordat was agreed to by a great majority, including, as I before stated, a considerable number of

black cardinals, among whom was his Eminence Cardinal Consalvi, who communicated the result of our deliberations to the Holy Father. His Holiness, notwithstanding he doubtless suffered not a little in accordance with human nature, by being compelled to make a clamorous retractation of his signature to a solemn treaty, affixed only a few days before, was nevertheless supported by his virtues on the occasion, and was not only undisturbed by the bitter alternative proposed and taken, but actually hailed the suggestion with joy, and fully approved it.

We therefore immediately began to take into consideration the manner of carrying the latter determination into effect; and accordingly in the course of a few days, finding ourselves one evening assembled in a house inhabited by Cardinal Pignatelli, where we came to visit the Cardinal who was confined by illness; we, that is to say, the Cardinals Saluzzo, Ruffo, Scilla, Archbishop of Naples, Scotti, Galeffi, Consalvi, and myself, the doors meanwhile being effectually secured and guarded, entered upon the discussion of this most important subject. Some of us were of opinion that the Pope should declare the articles of the Concordat null and void on a sheet of paper signed with his own hand, which being submitted to the Sacred College, they

should make public by means of numerous manuscript copies. To which proposal I replied, by observing that it did not appear to me to be consistent with the good faith and purity that ought invariably to shine forth in the actions of the Supreme Pontiff; who not only ought on all occasions to be substantially right, but should also avoid, in the mode of conducting an operation, every possible chance of affording a plea for censure. I added, that we ourselves ought at all events to shape our proceedings according to the precepts of the Gospel, and that we should be giving the Emperor just reason to complain, were we to sanction the revocation suddenly and unexpectedly of an agreement approved and solemnly subscribed by himself and by the Pope – an act which, if performed not only without giving the other party any reason whatever, but without a moment's premonitory notice, were the same as if one man were to fire a pistol at another man behind his back. In short, I proposed that the Pope should retract the Concordat, and communicate his retractation directly to the Emperor by a letter, such as we should all agree upon. My egregious colleagues, Pignatelli and Saluzzo, observed in reply to the above proposal, that by carrying it into effect, we ran a risk of having the retractation kept entirely from the knowledge of

the public, since the Emperor, so soon as he became cognizant of the Pope's intentions, would exert all the means in his power to prevent any written paper whatever emanating from the Holy Father and the Cardinals. Their Eminences, Consalvi and Litta, were both of my opinion, and proposed that a little while after the letter in question was dispatched to the Emperor, the Pope should cause a copy of it to be read to all the cardinals resident at Fontainebleau, and authorise them to make known to the public in such manner as they were able, the fact of his retractation. By such a step, they said, you will preserve the appearance of acting with due respect to the Emperor, while at the same time the cardinals, sooner or later, cannot fail to find means to make the world acquainted with the Pope's retractation of the articles of the Concordat. My proposal thus modified, was agreed to by all who were present, and also by two most worthy dignitaries of the purple, to whom it was speedily communicated, namely, Mattei and Di Pietro; finally, Cardinal Consalvi submitted it to the Holy Father, who approved it.

A few days afterwards the Pope began to compose a minute, intended to be preserved for an authentic document, as the basis of his letter to the Emperor,

which he proposed to copy from it, to the end, that the latter appearing all in his own handwriting, no other person than himself should be exposed to the Imperial indignation.

The writing of this letter and minute cost the Pope the labour of several days, in consequence of his being unable to endure long continued application, owing to the state of physical debility and lowness of spirits, by which he was at that time oppressed; with reference to which, and in order that the strict, jealous degree of custody in which the Holy Father was kept, may be fully known, I do not imagine it will be superfluous to state a little more particularly how the business proceeded. In the first place he could not leave any written paper of importance either in the chamber where he slept, or in his sitting-room, being aware that every morning, either while he was himself celebrating, or while he was attending the Holy mass in the chapel, the dependants of the Government made a practice of visiting the apartments, and narrowly examining everything that lay upon the tables, or was locked up in the cupboards. Having keys of their own for the purpose, they opened the latter as well as all the other pieces of furniture that contained his papers and his clothes. Under such circumstances, every morning after his

Holiness returned from mass, Cardinal Di Pietro, Cardinal Consalvi, or some other confidential person, called upon him, bringing with them the sheet of paper on which he had written the day before, when his Holiness, either in their presence, or after they were gone, resumed his work for a short period. At all events, at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon I always waited on his Holiness; and after having added a few lines to what he had written, and having concealed both the minute and the letter under my clothes, I carried the papers to the house where Cardinal Pignatelli resided; whence the next morning the same were conveyed as above stated, by a safe hand, to the Pope at the palace. These contrivances lasted for several days, owing to the delays to which the good Pius was subjected; frequently by having occasion to make a necessary alteration in the minute, or because, on account of some words being left out in the fair copy, or a blot of ink having fallen on the paper, he had to begin it again.

For my own part, I very well remember that every day when I carried away the writing, as before stated, and crossed the quadrangle of the palace in front of the French sentinels, my agitation of mind was such for fear the government, being suspicious or cognizant of

what was going forward, might cause me to be stopped and searched, that notwithstanding the severity of the climate in Paris, and the season was winter, I was always in a state of perspiration. At last, after several days had elapsed, the letter was finished all in the handwriting of the Holy Father, who therein declared the Concordat, including all the articles he had previously signed, to be null and void; though at the same time he expressed his readiness to renew the negotiation, with an earnest desire to arrive at a definitive adjustment of all differences; provided that the new agreement were established on a basis that required nothing irreconcileable to his duties.

The following is the letter of Pius VII. to Napoleon:—

"MAJESTY:

"Deeply as the confession we are about to make may wring our heart; severe as may be the displeasure with which your Majesty receives it, the fear of Divine judgment—to which period on account of our advanced age and declining health we are fast approaching—renders us, as it ought to do, superior to every other consideration, and to all the anguish which we suffer at the present moment.

"Constrained by our sense of duty, and with the sincerity and frankness that befit our dignity and our character, we hereby tell your Majesty, that from the 25th of January, the day when we signed the articles proposed to serve as the basis of the definitive treaty referred to by those articles, our mind has been incessantly lacerated by feelings of the most bitter remorse and lively repentance, and we enjoy neither peace nor repose.

"We perceived speedily, and serious daily meditation has continued the more to convince us, the error which the desire to terminate in the speediest manner possible the disagreements that have arisen out of the affairs of the Church, and at the same time give satisfaction to your Majesty, was the cause of our committing.

"Our grief of heart was for a while moderated in some degree by reflecting that the evils inflicted on the Church by ourselves through the means of our signature, were capable of remedy by a subsequent definitive document; but our sorrow was increased immeasurably, when to our surprise, and contrary to the plan of operations concerted with your Majesty, we saw the identical articles, which were in fact nothing more than the groundwork of a future arrangement, printed

and published to the world under the title of CONCORDAT. Bitterly bewailing in our heart the occasion afforded by ourselves of scandal to the Church, and convinced of the necessity of repairing a fault since made known to its members by the publication above alluded to, it is with infinite pain we undertake at once, and without delay, to manifest our sentiments, and make our remonstrance; solely actuated at the same time by the prudential consideration of proceeding cautiously and without precipitation in an affair of such magnitude. Knowing, therefore, that within a short period we shall have the assistance of the Sacred College, which is our Council, we have determined to await their presence to the end that we may be enlightened in our consultations, and thence direct our judgment; not as to the retractation that we have felt ourselves bound to make of an act already done—and as God is our witness we were from the first moment firmly resolved upon—but to consider the most proper mode of executing our purpose.

"We have accordingly not been able to perceive any method better, or in closer accordance with the respect we entertain towards your Majesty, than to address ourselves directly to your Majesty through the present letter; in which, standing in the presence of

that God before whom we must shortly render an account of the use we have made of the power he has given us as his Vicar for the government of the Church, we declare, with apostolic sincerity, that our conscience opposes insuperable obstacles to the execution of various articles of the document we have signed; for to our grief and confusion we perceive too clearly that by our promises, made incautiously,—though in the frailty of humanity, dust and ashes as we are, and God knows with honest intentions,—we have inadvertently used our power not to the Church's edification, but to the Church's destruction.

"With regard to the document in question, signed by ourselves though it be, we say to your Majesty the same that was said by our predecessor Pasqual II. to Henry V., when under circumstances similar to those under which we are now placed, he had reason from motives of conscience to repent of and retract concessions that were already written and signed: 'Since,' said that illustrious pontiff, 'we acknowledge what we have written as a deed ill done, so, as a deed ill done, we confess it, desirous as we are through the help of the Lord to amend it thoroughly, and in such a manner that neither evil may result to the Church, nor damage accrue to our own soul's welfare.'

"We are ready to acknowledge that among the above-mentioned articles, there are some which, by alteration in language, and by making other changes and modifications, are capable of emendation; but at the same time we consider others to be intrinsically obnoxious, and being contrary to justice, and irreconcileable to the religion of the Church established by our Lord Jesus Christ, impracticable and perfectly inadmissible.

"How can we, for example, commit an act of such palpable injustice as, without giving any canonical reason, deprive of their sees so many venerable bishops, accused of no other crime than of having followed our own instructions; or how can we, in like manner, without giving any canonical reason, permit the destruction of the sees themselves? Your Majesty surely cannot have forgotten how loud a cry arose in France and in Europe, in the year 1801, at the exercise of our power in depriving the French bishops of their sees, notwithstanding they were previously summoned and required to give their resignation? The extraordinary measure in question was nevertheless in consequence of the urgent necessity of the case admitted, and in those calamitous times considered indispensable as the only means of putting a stop to a grievous

schism, and of reconducting a great nation to the centre of Catholic unity. But no such weighty reasons exist at the present day whereby, before God and man, we can justify the measure proposed to be undertaken by one of the articles in question.

"How can we, in like manner, agree to a regulation so subversive of the Divine constitution of the Church of Jesus Christ, who established St. Peter and his successors its Primate, as to transfer our power to the metropolitan, thereby permitting the metropolitan to institute those nominees whom the Supreme Pontiff, weighing the various circumstances of their case, thinks proper in his wisdom not to institute; consequently, creating him who is inferior to the supreme hierarchy, and owes it submission and obedience, a judge and reformer of its conduct? Can we introduce into God's Church the unheard-of innovation that the metropolitan has power to institute, in opposition to the head of that Church? Under what well-regulated government was there ever conceded to an inferior authority the power to do what the head of the government determines not to do? By making such a concession, should not we open a door to disorder and schism, equally prejudicial to the Church and to the State, and oblige the Roman Pontiff to cease to hold communion with the nominees

instituted by the metropolitan, in opposition to his decision, and in spite of his authority? Are we at liberty to deprive the Holy See of one of its primary rights—we, who are bound by the most solemn oaths to support and defend its prerogatives, even to the shedding of our own blood?

"Your Majesty perhaps will say, that in our brief issued at Savona we have already made this concession, at least under some modifications; but that brief was not only afterwards rejected by your Majesty, but your Majesty's refusal to accept it was announced formally and officially. Our answer therefore to your Majesty is the same sincere confession of the error into which, on that occasion also and in the situation in which we were placed, we a frail human being had fallen, anxious as we were then, as now, and influenced by the hope that presented itself to obviate the evils likely to accrue to the Church, without having, at the same time, made the necessary reflection, that by the introduction of the system we were enunciating we laid open an entrance to other evils more fatal and more permanent than those we endeavoured to avoid. That brief, however, having been refused by your Majesty, our concessions contained in it become a nullity, and we consider your Majesty's refusal as a trait of Divine Providence that

watches over the government of the Church. Even had it happened otherwise, and had the brief in question continued in force, since the reasons above propounded apply no less to the brief than to the articles of the Concordat, we should have been equally obliged to revoke it.

"We can by no means conceal from your Majesty that our conscience has continually reproached us for not having made reference in the articles in question to the rights of dominion belonging to the Holy See, that our ministry and the oaths pronounced by us on our assumption of the Pontificate oblige us to maintain, to vindicate, and to preserve; those rights we ought at least to have asserted in the body of the document; nor does the letter addressed to us by your Majesty on the 25th of January[1] afford a sufficient excuse for our omission.

"For the above stated and other most weighty reasons our imperative duties absolutely forbid the execution of the articles alluded to, as well as others, expressly cited in the folio, No. 5, dated 25th January; which, not to take up your Majesty's time unnecessarily, we here omit to mention.

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[1] See page 152.

"We fully recognized the stipulations agreed upon, and were aware of our obligation to fulfil them, but, since we have perceived them to be in opposition to Divine institutions, and to our own duties, we nevertheless feel it incumbent on us to yield obedience to the law of a superior power, and refrain from the observance of that which is determined to be illicit.

"Under the indispensable obligation of declaring our resolution to your Majesty, by the act we are now fulfilling, we have also an earnest desire to assure your Majesty that we are ready, nay, eagerly anxious in good truth and earnest, to effect with your Majesty a definitive adjustment of all our differences, including every point propounded in the articles, on the condition that a strict adherence to our own duties be taken as the basis of future proceedings.

"Whenever we may receive information that your Majesty agrees with us in the views that with our paternal confidence, and in Apostolic freedom, we have herein endeavoured to explain, we shall experience a joyful anxiety in immediately making dispositions for the commencement of a new treaty, having for its object the definitive adjustment so much to be desired. By such an adjustment we have no doubt that the neces-

sary remedy will be applied to many grave disasters that the Church now labours under, relative to which we have not failed heretofore to cause our representations to reach the foot of your Majesty's throne; and that there will be put an end to those other troubles which of late years have afforded so great cause for grief and just remonstrance; all which calamities in a definitive adjustment of the matters in question we could never overlook without neglecting the obligations of our ministry.

" We beseech your Majesty to consider these our sentiments, with the same sincerity that we have felt in communicating them. We entreat your Majesty, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, to give comfort to our heart, that yearns for nothing more earnestly than to effect that state of reconciliation which has always been the object of our wishes. We pray your Majesty to take into your consideration the glory that would result to your Majesty, and the advantage that would accrue to your dominions, from the conclusion of a treaty, whereby might be extended to the Church a state of true peace, such as might be for ever firmly maintained by our successors.

" May God, to whom we lift up our most ardent

prayers, deign to pour upon your Majesty the copiousness of his heavenly benediction.

(Signed) " PIUS VII.

" *Fontainebleau, 24th March,* 1813."

On the morning of the 24th of March, the Holy Father sent for Colonel Lagorse, and gave into his hands the above letter directed to the Emperor, requesting him at the same time to take it himself to Paris, which he did the same day. So soon as the Colonel had departed, the Pope, according to a plan previously concerted, summoned all the Cardinals one by one to a separate audience, and said to each of them, that having now dispatched to the Emperor a letter in which he had retracted and revoked all the concessions made in the unfortunate Concordat of the 25th January, he was desirous of seeing every one of the Cardinals resident at Fontainebleau, in order to recite to them an allocution, wherein he had briefly described his sentiments, and the line of conduct he had adopted in this grave transaction. His Holiness added, that in order to divest the present measure from all manner of imputation as an underhand proceeding, or the act of a conventicle, he had determined to submit the allocution in question, prepared on pur-

pose, to the perusal of every Cardinal, as well as a copy of the letter, above referred to, which he had written to the Emperor. He then, on that and on the following day, delivered the allocution in manuscript, as well as the copy of the letter to the Emperor, to each Cardinal successively.

The allocution was as follows:—

"To our venerable Brothers and beloved Children, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church residing in Fontainebleau.

"After having manifested, venerable brothers and beloved children, our repentance and our remorse at having subscribed our signature to the articles of the folio of 25th January, intended to serve as the basis of a definitive adjustment with his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy; after having demanded of every one of you your opinion, for the purpose of availing ourselves of the lights of your understanding; and having in consequence made known to you our intention of addressing ourselves directly to his Majesty, and notifying to him our sentiments with evangelical sincerity and apostolic freedom; we consider it our duty to communicate to you the letter which, bearing the date of 24th March,

we have accordingly written to his Majesty. You will perceive by its tenor, that even to his Majesty himself we have not dissimulated, but that we have therein expressed the same feelings of repentance and remorse which we previously manifested to yourselves; nor have we failed to make his Majesty acquainted with the principal motives that, operating directly on our conscience, peremptorily forbid the execution of our incautious engagement. Moreover, since under the circumstances in which we found ourselves at Savona, we there issued a brief which, under certain modifications, bears relation to the concessions made in the fourth article of the late document, we have also considered it our duty to make reference to that brief in our letter,—notwithstanding that the brief having been expressly rejected by his Majesty, the concessions contained in it have become consequently invalid, and the rejection has been acknowledged by us as a trait of Divine Providence, that watches over and protects the Church. For the reasons that we have shown, you will therefore clearly understand, that with regard to the one document as to the other, namely, the brief of Savona and the folio of 25th January, we consider them as if neither had ever been written, and it is our will and pleasure that both may be so regarded generally,

to the end that no account whatever being henceforth taken of either, there may result no prejudice to the Divine constitution of the Church and of her laws, nor to the rights of the Holy See. We believe that, under present circumstances, this, our declaration, in addition to the letter written by us to his Majesty, will be sufficient to meet the object intended to be effected, though, nevertheless, in case future events should ever impose upon us the duty, and further measures on our part be deemed necessary to be taken, we are ready to renew the substance of the present allocution under a form of deeper solemnity.

" Blessed be the Lord, who hath not turned his mercy far away from us; it is He who mortifies and vivifies; He who has been pleased to inflict upon us a salutary confusion, and make us humble,—but his omnipotent hand, nevertheless, has borne us up, and his opportune assistance at this difficult crisis has enabled us to fulfil our duties. To ourselves be humiliation, which we accept for our soul's good. To Him be now and for ever and ever exaltation, honour, and glory, Amen.

" These things, venerable brothers and beloved children, we make known to you, at the same time that by this our present act we give you the Apostolic benediction.

" *Palace of Fontainebleau, 24th March*, 1813."

So soon as the Holy Father had thus communicated what he had done to all the members of the Sacred College who were residing at Fontainebleau, there suddenly appeared in his person and on his countenance an unexpected alteration. Previously, the profound grief in which, as I have before stated, he was continually immersed, was consuming him day by day, and was deeply imprinted on his features, which now, on the contrary, became all at once serene, and, as he gradually recovered his natural gaiety of spirits, were occasionally animated by a smile. Neither did he any longer complain of loss of appetite, or of the inquietude and agitation that every night, for a considerable period before, had interrupted his repose. Indeed, he said himself to one of the cardinals, that the dispatching the letter to the Emperor, and making the Allocution to the Sacred College, was the means of lifting, as it were, from off his stomach a heavy weight that oppressed him night and day. The cardinals meanwhile remained in a state of most anxious expectation, and, to say the truth, under grievous palpitation of heart, in our anxiety to know the effect that the Pope's unexpected retractation and revocation of the Concordat would produce on the mind of the Emperor Napoleon, whose designs up to the present day were thus suddenly frustrated, and, to a

certain extent, the machinations, by which he had expected to procure a grand triumph, rendered at once ridiculous. Various indications of his wrath that, as it was said, appeared on the occasion, on authority, however, that I am unable to vouch for, got into circulation, and among other accounts that were written from Paris it was stated in one letter, that Napoleon, on the first occasion of meeting his Council of State, after the receipt of the Pope's letter, when he communicated to his councillors what had happened, burst forth into a violent strain of invective, and, making use of furious menaces, "Never," said he, "shall I finish this business till I blow the head of one of these Fontainebleau priests (meaning the Cardinals) from off his shoulders." Another report that got abroad at the same time was to the effect that one of the Emperor's councillors, who happened to be notorious for his anti-religious principles, having observed to him that, in order to terminate the controversies and discord with the Pope, it was time he should declare *himself* the head of the Church in the French Empire—which measure, as I have stated in another place, was never desired by Napoleon—he replied, "Ce serait casser les vitres;"[1] which saying, expressed in the Italian language, would

[1] That would be breaking the windows.

imply that such a step would be the means of making the rupture irreconcilable. These reports, and several other stories of the same description, alike unattested, were the subject of public conversation; though the truth of the matter is indisputably, that the Emperor very craftily did all in his power to suppress the Pope's letter, and took no notice of it.

A few days afterwards the General Le Comte de S. Sulpice[1] and the French Bishops, whom I have several times before referred to, were recalled from Fontainebleau to Paris, and never afterwards returned to their residence in the palace. Moreover, the inhabitants of the city and the neighbourhood, of whatsoever class and condition, were prohibited from attending the mass of the Holy Father or of Monsignor Bertazzoli, the almoner, and kissing the foot of the Holy Father in the chamber contiguous to the chapel. In fact, the Holy Father was henceforward restricted to the society of the cardinals exclusively.

In addition to the above facts there happened another incident on the night of the 5th of April, when the most worthy Cardinal Di Pietro was unexpectedly awakened from his sleep, and being compelled to conceal his rank of cardinal by dressing himself in

[1] See page 151.

plain clothes; was obliged to leave Fontainebleau with an officer of police, who conducted him, in a state of incognito, to the Col d'Ossoue, in the Pyrenees, where he remained in deportation till the fall and abdication of the Emperor. This venerable dignitary of the purple, after his previous banishment,[1] was only set at liberty on the 26th of January, at the conclusion of the Concordat; and was the first of the *black* cardinals who, at that melancholy consummation, had an interview with the Holy Father; his Holiness then asked his opinion of the articles that had been agreed upon; and he having given the only answer that could or ought to be expected from a pious, learned man, the Pope, in consequence, began immediately to show such manifest signs of repentance and sorrow, that the apparent state of his mind was but too soon reported to the Emperor. The Emperor accordingly suspected that Cardinal Di Pietro gave him counsels and suggestions contrary to his wishes, and was so far convinced on the subject that, on his departure from Fontainebleau, after the Imperial visit to his Holiness, he said to the Holy Father, with an ironical smile, as he left the room, "Now, when Cardinal Di Pietro

[1] See vol. i. page 325.

comes, you will speedily have to make your confession;" therefore, on receiving the letter from the Pope, Napoleon attributed the retractation and revocation of the Concordat entirely to Cardinal Di Pietro.

The following morning news was brought to me of the arrest and departure of the above-mentioned Cardinal. While I was still in bed, Colonel Lagorse entered my room unexpectedly, and as he commenced the interview by acquainting me very formally that he had two commissions to execute on the part of the Emperor, I began to fear that I should very speedily be obliged to make a second trip to Fenestrelle. However, he proceeded to say, and first, with regard to his first commission, that he had positive commands from the Emperor to desire Cardinal Consalvi and myself to inform the Holy Father that the reason why Cardinal Di Pietro had been removed from the palace and banished to a city in France, was on account of his having been discovered to be a person inimical to his government. Whether this first commission was pronounced by word of mouth or read from a written paper, I do not recollect; but the second commission, which was common to all the cardinals, I very well remember was in writing, and to the following effect, viz.:—

"That the Emperor was displeased with the cardinals for having ever since their arrival at Fontainebleau continually restricted the Pope from a condition of free agency; that provided they were desirous of remaining at Fontainebleau, they must abstain from all manner of interference in matters of business, whether by writing letters to persons either in France or in Italy, or by speaking to the Pope on public affairs; they must, on the contrary, keep themselves in a state of perfect inaction, and make no visits to the Holy Father otherwise than strictly social and complimentary. Failing in the above conditions, they would expose themselves to the hazard of losing their liberty."

Colonel Lagorse having read the above paper, asked me, "Whether I could allow myself to perform all that the Emperor required?"

With regard to the first commission, that particularly related to the Cardinal Consalvi and myself, I made no reply; but as to the second, I said, "That it was always my endeavour to adhere to a line of conduct such as could give the Emperor no ground for complaint or suspicion: but that I could not promise all that was required of me in the paper just read, inasmuch as the Pope might possibly give me an order at variance with it."

"Then," replied Colonel Lagorse, "suppose the Pope were to command you to speak to any person on politics, or to write and publish an official paper, would your Eminence do so?"

"Indisputably I would," said I; "for I have often solemnly sworn to be faithful and obedient to him."

"Then," rejoined the Colonel, "you will at least give me your acknowledgment in writing of having received the Emperor's orders."

Upon which I took the pen, and, having written upon the paper the words "Seen by me,"[1] I signed my name, "B. Cardinal Pacca."

The Colonel then departed, and proceeded to execute his commission with regard to the other cardinals my colleagues, from several of whom I learnt that they gave a similar answer with myself.

Subsequently two imperial decrees were promulgated; one bearing date 13th of February, and the other 25th of March. By the first the Concordat of Fontainebleau, after being declared to be the law of the empire, was ordered to be inserted in the Bulletin of Laws, No. 488, and to be transmitted to all the tribunals and public authorities. By the second, the

[1] L' ho veduto.

Concordat was declared obligatory upon all the archbishops, bishops, and chapters of the empire and of the kingdom of Italy; and was in like manner ordered to be inserted in the Bulletin of Laws, No. 490. It also commanded a statute to be prepared to determine the punishment of transgressors against the fourth article of the Concordat; and, finally, prescribed regulations relative to its execution that infringed upon and aggravated the provisions of the article.

The publication of the two imperial decrees above mentioned, gave reason to fear that the Emperor intended to proceed at once to the vigorous execution of the Concordat, and place the Pope in the difficult dilemma of being obliged either to confirm and give canonical institution to his Majesty's nominees, whomsoever they might be, or to see arise, in the vicinity of his own palace, the first germ of a schism likely to extend itself very speedily over the various dioceses in France and in Italy. But Napoleon did not consider the present a fit moment to stir up dissension among the churches of the empire, and so increase the discontent of his people; but he was merely preparing the way for future projects that he proposed to undertake after his return from the campaign then about to be opened against the Allied armies. The disastrous

termination, however, of this campaign, his defeat at Leipsic, and his abdication of the throne after the capture of Paris, eventually caused the frustration of all these designs, and was finally the means of putting an end to the fatal Concordat that, after menacing new disasters and new persecutions to the Church, then fell to the ground and vanished for ever.

At the period in question, it not being possible to foresee those extraordinary events that, since they have happened, we are now scarcely able to believe, the cardinals, anxious to prevent the possibility of the Pope's being ever charged in future with having given a tacit consent to the decrees above mentioned, counselled him to perform some public act that might effectually serve as a protest against their promulgation. The Pope accordingly, approving the suggestion of the cardinals, addressed an Allocution, on the 9th of May, to the Sacred College, written entirely in his own hand; and, as in the instance of the first Allocution, he communicated it to every one of the cardinals successively. At the same time his Holiness requested each cardinal to make a copy of it in his own handwriting, to be carefully preserved, as an incontestable proof of the measure adopted by his Holiness under the circumstances in question, and for the purpose of being a nor-

nal guide for the regulation of his own conduct, towards the better preservation of the rights of the Holy See. This Allocution was as follows.

"To our venerable Brothers and beloved Children in Christ the Cardinals of the Sacred Roman College residing in Fontainebleau.

"You well know from our former communications, venerable Brothers and beloved Children in Christ, how lively has been our repentance, what agonizing remorse has incessantly pierced our heart, since on the very day when, having affixed our signature to the articles of the folio written in the imperial palace of Fontainebleau, and dated 25th of January, for the purpose of serving as the basis of a definitive treaty stated therein, about to be entered into between ourselves and his Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy—the ink being scarcely dry, we discovered that under the circumstances in which we were then placed, and owing to our earnest desire of terminating, in the shortest manner possible, the confusions arising out of the affairs of the Church, we had been led into a grievous error. You know the one sole reflection that served in some degree to moderate our grief rested on the hope that the mischief in-

cautiously occasioned by our affixing our signature to those Articles, might be removed subsequently in the course of the final preparation of the treaty; and to what a pitch of despair we were driven when, to our infinite amazement, we saw those identical Articles which, according to their very heading, were no more than the base of a future adjustment, printed and published, under the title of Concordat, in the very teeth of the agreement entered into with his Majesty!

"You know that in the depth of our sorrow, for the sake of the Church thus scandalized by the publication of these Articles, and convinced of the necessity of removing the damage so created, with how great difficulty we restrained ourselves from expressing our sentiments without reserve at the very moment, and that we were finally induced to refrain from doing so solely by the desire of proceeding with more prudence, and of not committing any precipitate act in an affair of such importance; wherefore, considering that a meeting of the Sacred College would shortly be held in our presence, we determined to await your arrival, and, guided by the lights of your understanding, thence come to a resolution—not upon the step which our duty obliged us to take towards the reparation of the error we had committed, as to which, God is our wit-

ness that our resolution was firmly decided—but as to the best mode of putting our purpose into execution. Finally, you know that of all the modes of procedure capable of being adopted, the mode which we believed to be the most consistent with the respect we profess to his Majesty, the Emperor and King, was to address ourselves in full confidence directly to his Majesty; and that accordingly, whatever were the pain the act we were about to perform might inflict upon our heart, we actually did address a letter to his Majesty, dated 24th of March, in which, standing, as we observed to his Majesty, in the presence of that God to whom as his vicar, we must render a strict account of the use made of our power, we declared, with evangelical sincerity and apostolic freedom, such as befit our dignity and our character, that our conscience opposed insuperable obstacles to the execution of articles that must inevitably tend, not to the Church's edification, but to the destruction of the very power given to us by the Almighty for its government.

"Confessing at the same time the error we had committed, not by default of right intention, but owing to human frailty, we, in imitation of our predecessor Pasqual II., who, in a similar case of concessions made to Henry V., found reason to repent, used the same

expressions to his Majesty which that Pontiff had used before us, saying to his Majesty—'Since we acknowledge the writing as a deed ill done, so as a deed ill done we confess it, hoping, through the Lord's assistance, to amend it thoroughly, and in such a manner, that neither evil may result to the Church, nor damage to our own soul's welfare.' We further signified openly to his Majesty, that we acknowledged some of the Articles to be, with proper changes and modifications, capable of amendment, but we pronounced others to be intrinsically obnoxious, in consequence of being contrary to justice, subversive of the divine constitution of the Church and the religion of Jesus Christ, who established the primacy of S. Peter and his successors, and at variance with our own duties and the obligations contracted by us on our assumption of the pontificate.

"We did not omit to lay before his Majesty, so far as the limited compass of our letter would permit us, the principal and most weighty reasons that absolutely prohibited the execution and rendered the admission impossible of certain of the articles; neither did we fail to state, that fully sensible as we were of the force of the obligations we had contracted, those obligations nevertheless being in opposition to Divine institutions and to our own duties, we considered ourselves justified

in yielding to a still stronger obligation that forbade their observance.

"Moreover, with reference to the article of the Concordat numbered 4, since in a brief issued by us at Savona, moved by the desire of obviating the grave disasters that were overhanging the Church, we had made a concession similar, under certain modifications, to the concession contained in the article aforesaid, failing at the same time to reflect that by what we were granting we were opening a door to evils still more fatal and permanent than those it was in contemplation to remedy; we considered it expedient to make reference, in our letter to his Majesty, to the brief aforesaid, and to represent that his Majesty having rejected that brief officially, the concession contained in it was consequently invalid. And we further added, that had we been even obliged to regard it still in force, yet nevertheless, since the reasons that militated against the article militated in like manner against the brief, we should have been under the necessity of revoking it as we had revoked the folio of Fontainebleau.

"After declaring all these things to his Majesty, we at the same time gave him our assurance that we were ready and earnestly anxious, so long as the definitive adjustment in question were prepared on a basis recon-

cilable with our duties, to proceed to the termination of all the differences remaining as reserved points in the aforesaid articles. Thereby, we added, would be repaired the various evils afflicting the Church, against which we had many times sent our remonstrances to the foot of the Imperial throne, and the grievances that had of late years afforded motives of grief and of just remonstrance, be put an end to. All which subjects of complaint we could by no means, on entering upon a definitive treaty, omit to take under our consideration, without betraying the obligations of our ministry, and without inflicting grievous damage on the most sacred interests of the Church and of our holy religion.

"Finally, we concluded our letter by giving our assurance to his Majesty, that in the event of the approval of his Majesty of the views and principles enunciated in our letter, we were prepared to enter upon a new treaty immediately, such as should have for its object a peremptory, definitive adjustment of differences, and place the Church in a true permanent state of peace that might be effectively maintained by our successors.

"All these things, venerable brothers, we wrote to his Majesty the Emperor and King; we also addressed to yourselves on the same day, the 24th of March, an

Allocution, whereby we announced our retractation of the Concordat, signed on the 25th of January at Fontainebleau, and further declared our will and intention that that document, as well as the Brief issued by us previously at Savona, be both considered void and non-existent, to the end that no prejudice result to the divine constitution of the Church and the rights of the Holy See. We added, finally, that although we believed, that under the circumstances in which we were placed, what we had already done was sufficient for the intended purpose, we were yet ready, provided it were required by circumstances, and deemed expedient, to renew this our present Allocution under a form of deeper solemnity.

" With intense anxiety we awaited the result of our letter to his Majesty; while the solidity of the arguments we had adduced, our effusion of heart in their delivery, and the consciousness of having ever shown earnestly and unremittingly a disposition to do everything not actually forbidden by our duties towards the preservation of peace, gave us reason to entertain the most lively expectation of the successful fulfilment of our wishes. What then was our surprise, how acute the poignancy of our grief, when, after suffering a state of suspense considerably protracted, not having received an answer to our letter, we saw appear in the public

journals a series of articles, whereby the pretended Concordat of the 25th of January was represented to the public as if it were then actually in existence and in force, notwithstanding the retractation made in our letter and the reasons by which that retractation was supported! Nay, even greater still was our astonishment and grief of heart when one of our councillors, the most worthy Cardinal Di Pietro, was torn from our bosom and banished to a distant spot; when the remainder of the cardinals, placed under severe restriction by the Government, even to the extent of being rendered absolutely mute and inoperative, were forbidden to hold conversation with ourselves on the most trifling affairs of business; were prohibited from writing any letter whatever; were commanded to remain in a state of perfect inaction, and, so far as regards giving their assistance in our councils, to limit their personal intercourse with ourselves to visits merely nugatory. These were the regulations which were prescribed in writing to our cardinals, together with the explicit menace of the loss of their liberty in the event of failure in the conditions, or of otherwise rendering themselves unwittingly liable to the suspicion of the Government. Finally, how has our heart been infused to overflowing with bitterness by seeing printed and proclaimed in the journals, not

only the imperial decree, bearing date the 13th of February, whereby the pretended Concordat of Fontainebleau is declared the law of the empire, ordered to be inserted in the Bulletin of Laws, and to be transmitted to all the tribunals and public authorities; but also another decree, dated the 25th of March, the very day after we had addressed our letter to his Majesty, on the 24th, and dispatched it by the identical officer in the imperial service whom his Majesty himself appointed to reside with us in the palace; by which latter decree the pretended Concordat is declared obligatory upon all archbishops, bishops, and chapters of the empire, and kingdom of Italy; the punishment of transgressors against its provisions is determined by a special clause to that effect; and the execution of the 4th article is prescribed with such variations, that the tenor of the article itself is perverted and aggravated. The metropolitans, for example, on the pretended authority of the Concordat, which for the reasons we have already stated, and for further reasons which we shall give in the sequel, gives no such authority, are thereby commanded to institute within the space of six months the nominees by ourselves objected to.

"The danger, therefore, of an inevitable and grievous misfortune becomes but too imminent, and one

that no precautionary nor conciliatory measures of our own have power to avert. For if, on the one hand, we were to admit the execution of the pretended Concordat to its full extent; and if, on the other, our scruples of conscience, and the sacred duties of our Apostolic ministry, compel us to reject it, it is evident, whichever line of conduct we were inclined to adopt, that nothing short of the succour of the Almighty, in whose hands are the hearts of men which he bends as he sees fit, can possibly prevent the arising of a serious schism throughout the country; so have we been constrained, and so are we constrained, to declare the Concordat null and non-existent. But the more grave the Church's danger, the more forcibly does our pastoral solicitude compel us to provide against it to the utmost of our capability, notwithstanding we are actually in a state of close imprisonment, without the privilege of having communication with any person save yourselves, to whom at the same time it is barely permitted, according to the prohibition before alluded to, to remain inoperatively passive in our presence and listen to our voice. We therefore can do nothing more than deposit in your bosom our sentiments, in order that on some future day you may bear witness for us of the real state of our mind and inclination on the im-

portant affair in question. With such an object in view, therefore, we have considered it to be our bounden duty, by means of the present Allocution composed by ourselves, and written in our own hand, thus fully to express our feelings and our desires in the present crisis; communicating its contents to each of you successively, to the end that for future reference you may be possessed of an irrefragable proof of our determination that may serve no less as a normal guide for your own future proceedings, than for a document tending to the preservation of the rights of the Holy See.

" We cannot, however, persuade ourselves that any of our Metropolitans, so far forgetful of the laws of the Church and of his own proper duties, ever could presume to give institution, after the interval of six months, to nominees; or believe himself authorized so to do by the fourth Article of the pretended Concordat. For it were impossible he should not be aware, that the folio of the 25th January is not actually a Concordat, but a document that merely contains articles to serve as the basis of a future treaty, as is expressly stated in its preamble. Neither have the communications that have passed between ourselves and his Majesty the Emperor relative to those articles had any meaning,

capable of invalidating the fact, that the document in question is nothing more than the ground-work of a thing about to be done, and that it is not a perfect Concordat; wherefore the Metropolitans must necessarily understand the impossibility of an act not only not consummated, but even hardly begun to be executed, conferring any manner of right to interfere with the general discipline of the Church in so grave a question. They must also further consider that even if the Concordat were a real and true one, the same of itself would be insufficient, incomplete, and incapable of being acted upon without the additional authority of a confirmatory Bull from ourselves for the purpose of empowering the institution to be given, and of sanctioning the introduction of a form of discipline different from the previous practice of the Church, confirmed by its Apostolical constitution and by General Councils, which we are implicitly bound to respect.

"With regard to the necessity of a confirmatory Bull from ourselves on the present occasion, it were superfluous to seek to corroborate our assertion from the examples of former times and preceding Concordats, since we have a more recent instance to refer to in the Concordat of 1801, which, in order to render

it valid, was authorized and proclaimed by ourselves by a Bull, issued on purpose, which Bull, as is known to all persons, was afterwards carried into execution by the decree of our Legate the late Cardinal Caprara. Finally, the pretended Concordat, by virtue of which it is proposed to act, has actually ceased to exist, has been declared void and revoked by ourselves, as if it had never been made; we now declare it void, and revoke it once more and again. Neither can it be asserted, under any valid pretext, that our declaration of its non-existence is not sufficiently known and authentic, since the letter written by us on the 24th of March to his Majesty, and all the events relative thereto that have happened subsequently, are matters of general notoriety; in addition to which we have ourselves communicated the fact to some of those archbishops and bishops, with whom, previous to our more rigid state of restraint, we were permitted to have intercourse. Indeed, the degree of publicity we have given to this our revocation is even more than sufficient; especially as, in the consideration of the validity of an act about to be performed, the slightest well-founded doubt ought certainly to afford sufficient ground for the abstaining from innovation. Neither can any stress be laid on the Concordat on the

score of its irrevocability; not only because it consists solely of the folio of the 25th of January, which, as has before been shown, is not a Concordat; but because, if it even were a perfect document, obligations contracted upon it under any circumstances are impossible to be complied with; since, as the metropolitans must be well aware, so long as an obligation, no matter under what circumstances it be contracted, be contrary to Divine institutions, its observance is therefore illicit. The truth of this fact, well known in the abstract, has further been confirmed and recognized in similar cases to the present; for example, in the instance above cited, of our predecessor Pasqual II., as well as by the Lateran Council, and Councils of Italy, Germany, Spain, and even France, which latter includes the Viennese Council of 1112, convened in the Dauphiné by the Archbishop of Vienne.

"All these considerations afford us sufficient grounds for believing that the metropolitans can certainly never permit themselves to do in the matter in question what they have no right to do in any manner or under any circumstances; but rather we expect that they will not fail to present their respectful, humble remonstrances at the foot of the throne, for the purpose of showing the impossibility under which they find

themselves of giving the institution in question. Such is the opinion that we have just reason to entertain of the metropolitans of France and of the kingdom of Italy; but if, unhappily, the event should happen contrary to our well-grounded expectations, then, in such a case, the sacred duties of our ministry and the gravity of the subject compel us to declare explicitly that such institution, given in defiance of ourselves, would be invalid; invalid would be the jurisdiction of the persons instituted, and they themselves illegitimate, intrusive pastors; the consecration sacrilegious, as well on the part of the institutors as of the instituted; and the whole act, together with all the parties concerned in it, considered by us schismatic. We should be, moreover, constrained to discard the offenders from our holy communion, subject to all the pains and penalties that in such cases are prescribed by the sacred canons. Neither should we hesitate to carry the same into effect under the usual forms practised in like circumstances by our predecessors: provided, be it understood, that we possess the power; which, if we have it not, we nevertheless now exercise and declare by the only possible means we can use in our actual position.

"But relying on the mercy of the Lord, we trust

that such a melancholy contingency may never happen, and we still entertain a hope, that his Majesty the Emperor and King, bending his mind to new counsels, may become inclined to listen to our prayer, and yielding to the proposal contained in our letter, may agree to the undertaking a new treaty, which, formed upon a basis reconcilable with our duties, may complete the definitive adjustment of all the differences that have arisen, and satisfy the object of our wishes. In the bitterness of our soul do we offer up to heaven continually our most fervent prayers towards such a consummation, for which we earnestly exhort yourselves, venerable Brothers and beloved Children, to offer up your prayers also; while we, with all the effusion of our heart, confer on you the Apostolic benediction.

(Signed) " PIUS P.P. VII.

" *Fontainebleau, 9th May*, 1813."

During the period while his Holiness was engaged in preparing the above Allocution, I was employed, together with several other Cardinals, in the very arduous thorny task of composing the draft of a Bull for the regulation of a future conclave, which, in case that, in addition to the calamities of the times, a

vacancy of the Holy See were to occur through the demise of the Holy Father, might provide for the contingency. In order to adapt our present regulations to future circumstances, it was necessary, so far as human prudence could suggest, to provide for the state of things likely to exist at the period whenever the fatal misfortune we were anticipating might happen by the death of the Pope; a species of legislation difficult at all times to be entered upon, but particularly so at a moment, when such was the astonishing rapidity with which great political events succeeded each other, that frequently the space of a few days was sufficient to change the whole face of Europe. It became therefore indispensable, in order to facilitate the election of a future Pontiff, somewhat to modify the organization of the Apostolic Constitution, though we were obliged at the same time to be careful, lest, by making the newly opened path too wide, we might pave the way to other inconveniences, and incur the very difficulties which former Pontiffs, in the framing of the original constitutions, were at pains to avoid. Above all things, it was necessary to guard against the pretensions and contrivances that the government might exercise at a future period towards taking their part in the Pontifical elections,

and with that point in view, to establish such precautionary regulations as might serve to impose restrictions on the Cardinals, and place it out of their power, whether from the influence of fear or the allurements of their temporal interests, to allow themselves to yield to the seductive force of courtly adulation.

Napoleon had in fact formerly intimated to Cardinal Mattei, in a conversation he had with him at Tolentino, at a time when he was a general officer in Italy, that the French Government intended to control the elections of future Pontiffs; consequently, being at the period in question Emperor and Sovereign of Rome, it might be reasonably apprehended that, in case of a vacancy of the Holy See, he would set up some strange pretensions, and considering the Pope in the light of the bishop of a city subject to his dominion, while he himself at the same time held all the Sacred College in his power, follow the ancient example of the kings of Italy, and of the emperors of Constantinople, by insisting upon the nomination or the confirmation of the Pontiff. Accordingly we drew up a minute of the bull in question, as well as we were able, from which the bull itself was prepared, and afterwards written entirely in the handwriting of the Holy Father.

## CHAPTER XV.

Palace of Fontainebleau — Inhabitants of the City — Manner of Life of the Pope and Cardinals — Society of Jesuits — Communication to the Pope from Bordeaux — Answer of his Holiness to a Letter from the Empress Maria Louisa — Credulity of French Authorities — Letter from the Pope to the Emperor of Austria — Two Letters from the Pope to the Papal Nuncio at Vienna — Progress of Allied Armies — French Government attempt to renew Negotiations with the Pope — Removal of the Pope from Fontainebleau — Pope's Valedictory Address to the Cardinals — Removal of Cardinal Pacca to Uzès in Languedoc — Letter of Minister of Police to the Cardinal — Letter of Ministre des Cultes to the Cardinal.

SUBSEQUENT to the events above related, the government permitted us for a little while to live in peace, though we led a very sad, disagreeable, monotonous life, owing to want of occupation. The Royal Palace of Fontainebleau, distant thirty-five miles from Paris, has been resorted to for several centuries by the court of France for the sake of the amusement of the chase, and has in consequence, since become a large town, distinguished by the title of a city, which in fact it

deserves, perhaps more than many other cities in the kingdom. It is tolerably well built, comprises several good streets, contains generally about 9,000 inhabitants, is capable of containing 20,000, and the greater portion of the houses are lodging houses, built for the express purpose of accommodating the great numbers of people who attend and follow the royal party during the hunting season. The city is encompassed all round by woodland, extending several miles outwards, that consequently precludes the spectacle of an open horizon, and increases the natural appearance of melancholy that reigns in the locality. The palace, imperial at the time in question, though it has since resumed the rank of a royal edifice, is an aggregate of various different structures, built at different periods by different kings, beginning, as I was informed, by Louis VII.; and consequently it presents to the view a ridiculous and monstrous combination of the semibarbarous taste of the 12th and 13th centuries, with the more refined ideas in design and architecture of later times, especially of the last two hundred years. If, however, it were the custom to record the history of royal palaces, like the history of kingdoms, the royal palace of Fontainebleau would certainly occupy one of the

longest and most interesting articles in such a work, for it were difficult to name any other palace that has served for so long a period as the place of residence of great monarchs and other distinguished personages, or has been the scene of more remarkable events. Every court, every hall, nay, one might say almost every chamber, recalls to the recollection either the name of some great sovereign or some celebrated event in history. On the spot, for example, at present occupied by the library, according to tradition, was formerly the chapel of St. Louis, of which the recollection is calculated to inspire the visitor with the respectful devotional feelings due to a sanctuary. The hall which led to the Emperor Napoleon's apartments is still commonly known by the title of the Gallery of Francis I.; and at the period while I was there, they were restoring the apartments where the beautiful Diane de Poitiers, favourite, or *Mistress* as it is termed, of Henry II., for some time resided. The portion of the building is also still exhibited, which was formerly called "La Galerie des Arts," where, on the 10th November, 1657, Christina, Queen of Sweden, who, even while she resided out of her own kingdom, preserved the rights of sovereignty over

her attendants, condemned to death the unfortunate Monaldeschi, her master of the horse, who was afterwards actually executed. Moreover, within the walls of the palace of Fontainebleau, various great political negotiations have been effected, and numerous treaties of peace have been signed at various periods. In later times still more remarkable are the events that have occurred there; its chambers have witnessed the successive spectacles of the heroic virtue and rigid penitence of a great and holy monarch on his throne, the amorous intrigues and dissolute conduct of royal favourites (*mistresses*), the tragical end of the unhappy victim of the rage of a royal lady, and finally, the transformation of the edifice to a gaol, where the supreme Head of the Church was kept in confinement. Nay, a few weeks only after the Pope was liberated, there happened there an event more appalling than ever before appeared in the face of the world, a terrible example of Divine justice, that awaited, on the very spot where the crime had been committed, the author of the execrable outrage. There the Potentate who would have constrained the Pope to renounce his rights and his temporal sovereignty, was himself compelled to renounce his empire, verifying the saying of the

poet, that sooner or later punishment always in the end overtakes the transgressor:—

"Sebben tarda a venir, spesso compensa
L' indugio con punizion immensa." [1]

The inhabitants of Fontainebleau appeared to me to be kind, quiet people; and I was informed, that during the period of the revolution, and even while the greatest excesses of barbarous cruelty were committed in other places, there was not a single instance of the shedding of blood in the city. The manners of the lower classes are by no means so rough as the manners of their equals in condition in other places; which superior degree of culture is no doubt to be attributed to the long-continued presence of the principal nobility of France and the foreign ministers during the residence of the court. To the same cause, alas! namely, their intercourse with so many grand

[1] 'Orlando Furioso.'—Punishment intense, though slow in arriving, frequently compensates for delay.*

* See Horace:—

"Raro antecedentem scelestum,
Deseruit pede pœna claudo."

Punishment, with limping step, seldom quits the track of the pursued criminal. H.

personages, I was also compelled to ascribe the spirit of indifference in matters of religion which prevailed universally. The churches, for instance, were little frequented at all events, and the congregations consisted of people of the lower classes exclusively, the greater portion women; neither was any attention paid to the observance and sanctification of Saints' days. The 15th of August, for example, in the year 1813, which happened on the day of the Lord, the greatest of all festivals, was also the festival of the Assumption of the Madonna, patron of the kingdom of France; a day on which the courtiers and persons devoted to the Emperor also solemnized the memory of S. Napoleon. On that day, after I had celebrated the mass in the chapel of the palace, on going out of doors to make a visit to the Cardinal Biancadoro, who lived at the other extremity of the city, I saw in the square in front of the palace the masons at work on various sorts of marble, under the very windows of the Pope's apartments, and from the square, along the whole length of the long street through which I passed, the windows of all the shops were open, and the people were working and selling their goods, the same as on a week-day.

Instances were by no means rare of persons passing a

great part of their life without exercising any act of religion whatever, or caring for the consolation of the sacraments, or the assistance of a priest on their death-bed. Nay, under a Government that boasted of its toleration, and swore to respect and make respected all manner of sorts of worship, the parish priest or other Catholic clergyman was constrained by law, contrary to the holy canons of the Church, to officiate at funeral obsequies, and accompany to the public cemetery the corpses of persons who had died notoriously in a state of impenitence. For it was alleged that the absence of the proper parish priest, or a priest acting in place of the latter, caused considerable pain and gave reason of complaint to the family of the deceased, in consequence of their imagining that disgrace and, as it were, a mark of infamy was thereby inflicted; which reason, nevertheless, appeared somewhat ridiculous on the part of a Government who sanctioned infidelity as meritorious, and as a condition of being which, with regard to the promotion of the individual in their public offices, rather inspired them with confidence. It was a singular fact, moreover, in a city where solemn religious processions, even those of the most holy sacrament, were permitted in the public streets, that if a Jew or a Calvinist inhabitant of the part of the town through which the

procession passed, refused to follow the example of his neighbours, and decorate the front of his house, he was not compelled by law to do so,—because, as they affirmed, the conscience of the individual would be violated by such a compulsion. At the same time, the Legislative Body had no such tender regard to Catholic priests, whom, in fact, they treated as if they had no consciences to injure, or, at all events, such sort of consciences as freely bent to the law and the will of the Government.

All the cardinals and myself were careful, during the whole time of our residence at Fontainebleau, to abstain from conversation with the inhabitants of the city, for fear of exposing ourselves to the danger of exciting the suspicion of the Government, to whom it seemed impossible that Italian priests, members of that Roman court whose plots and contrivances in matters of human policy they so much feared, could possibly remain in a state of tranquil resignation, and refrain from concerting, in the course of their frequent intercourse with one another, projects hostile to their designs. Napoleon himself was not exempt from a similar impression; and, in fact, several cardinals actually were in the habit of assembling in the evening at the house of our colleague Pignatelli, who, having suffered a stroke of apoplexy at Rhetel, chose rather, notwithstanding permission

was given him by the Government to return to his native air in Italy, to remain near his Holiness and share the same fate with the Holy Father and the rest of us. Cardinal Pignatelli was a most worthy dignitary of the purple, sometimes severe and harsh in manner, but he invariably entertained the highest sense of justice, and nourished in his bosom honourable, magnanimous sentiments worthy of the high rank of his ancestors. Other cardinals, in like manner, frequented the house of his Eminence Cardinal Scotti, a Milanese by birth, whose state of health was also delicate, and he himself equally esteemed and loved by the whole Sacred College, on account of his virtuous, benevolent character.

In the above two houses, during the conversations we had between ourselves concerning the course of successive events which were occurring every day, the doors of the chamber in which we were sitting were closed invariably.

Meanwhile, those of us who were lodged in the palace were entertained at the expense of the Emperor, after the following arrangement, that is to say, there was regularly prepared every day, in addition to a dinner for the Pope, who always dined alone, a table at half-past one o'clock for the vicars-general of the bishops,

and for the secretaries of the cardinals; and at five o'clock another table, called the table of state, was laid for the cardinals and French bishops; though on account of the lateness of the latter hour, Cardinal Mattei, dean of the Sacred College, Cardinal Di Pietro, Cardinal Consalvi, myself, and after a little while Cardinal Gabrielli, also betook ourselves to the first table of the ecclesiastics above-mentioned. Unfortunately, though dinner-time is generally a period when, in addition to the refreshment of the body, we are in the habit of relieving the mind from cares and disagreeable reflections, we were deprived of that recreation under present circumstances by having to weigh well our words before opening our mouths, surrounded as we were by the familiars of the Emperor who sat at table, as well as the servants who waited on us. Among the former class should be particularly mentioned a personage whom I have had frequent occasion to mention before, the officer of the guard, Colonel Lagorse.

Colonel Lagorse was a native of Brives, a little city in the province of Limousin, who, having been originally a monk and doctrinaire at the time of the revolution, divested himself of the inconvenient costume he wore, and, throwing aside his friar's garments, adopted the military uniform. In process of time he was pro-

moted to the rank of colonel of gendarmerie; and at the period in question, while he was with us at Fontainebleau, having a few years previously married a wife, he was moving the tribunals to obtain a decree of divorce, in order to enable him to marry a second time the daughter of the maire of Fontainebleau, whom, in fact, as I heard say, he actually did marry afterwards when he returned to France in the year 1814. His manners were civil and gentle, but he took no pains to dissimulate an irreligious manner of thinking, and a rabid sentiment of aversion to all those ecclesiastics who declined to bend the knee to his idol Napoleon. Such was the man selected by the Emperor to be the keeper, or, to speak more correctly, gaoler of the Pope, an office for which he certainly possessed all the requisite qualities.

During the whole eighteen months of the Holy Father's residence at Fontainebleau, he could never be prevailed upon to quit his suite of chambers in the palace; which state of retirement—especially after he was deprived of communication with the inhabitants—vastly tended to render his imprisonment more manifest and notorious. The Cardinals, however, disposed of the hours of the day and of the evening in such a manner as to bear him company by turns, and thus mitigate the state of profound grief in which at

the time of our arrival we found him immersed. For my own part, I always visited him in his rooms at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, and remained about three-quarters of an hour. For the few first days the unfortunate preliminaries of the Concordat were unavoidably the subject of our conversation; but afterwards I seldom introduced any serious matters, finding such subjects ill adapted to the state of his mind and contrary to his inclination. Our daily talk, in fact, chiefly referred to anecdotes of his private life, and circumstances that, having happened to him in his own country and in the two bishoprics of Tivoli and Imola, he was fond of relating. These stories, which were innocent in themselves in the highest degree, being too often repeated, became consequently a fertile theme of critical jocularity; in fact, I know that one or two of the four French bishops, who resided in the palace, used to say to one another, with an ironical smile, when they came in the morning or evening to visit him, "Come along! Come along! here we go to hear the stories of Tivoli, Imola, and Cesena."

Among the French residents in the Imperial palace there were some individuals who made a point of doing all they could to lower the Pope in public estimation, and render him ridiculous; accusing him,

in fact, of indolence—nay, almost of idiocy—merely because he declined to send for books from the library, and to read while he was alone. The accuser, however, who cast such a censure on Pius VII., was evidently not aware that, for a pious, religious man, a crucifix and a picture of the most blessed Virgin are alone an ample library, sufficient to employ him by night and by day for years successively. The accusation is repeated by Monsieur de Savary, Duc de Rovigo, in the sixth volume of his 'Memoirs:' a book that I have before referred to in another place. Only mark his impertinence and audacity. "He did not open a book," he says, "the livelong day, and occupied himself in things which, if I had not myself seen, I never should have believed; stitching and mending, for instance, holes and rents in his clothes, sewing a button on his breeches, and washing with his own hands his dressing-gown, on which he had a habit of allowing the snuff to fall in large quantities. Hence a considerable dose of illusion became indispensable to induce one to believe in the infallibility of a Supreme Pontiff whom one beheld subject to such human miseries, while he had a thousand better ways of occupying his time at Fontainebleau, and particularly, though he never touched

a book, had access to a superb library." To proceed, however, with my narrative, since such ridiculous and grossly injurious assertions as the above are not worth confuting.

Notwithstanding the temporary state of the Pope's mind, there were occasionally some important topics of conversation that I introduced at our audiences, either for the purpose of giving him intelligence useful at the present time, or of furnishing him with information that, in the event of our return to Rome, might be advantageous. One subject, especially, frequently discussed at our colloquies, which I am the more inclined to refer to, inasmuch as our conversations upon it gave rise to fortunate consequences, was the Company of Jesus, for which establishment Pius VII. showed much esteem and affection, and, for my own part then, and since to a much greater degree, I have remarked with wonder the extraordinary dispositions of Providence relating to that celebrated society. The Pope, when a young Benedictine monk, had always been instructed by—so to say—anti-Jesuit masters and lecturers, who carefully instilled into his mind a host of opinions and sentiments, purposely extracted from writers diametrically opposed to the theological system of the Jesuits, and such as, imbibed during

the period of his early youth, were calculated to make a profound impression. I also, from my earliest youth, had contracted feelings, not merely of hatred, but amounting almost to a fanatic aversion, to the Society. To enumerate one or two of the books which were given me to read will be sufficient to prove the assertion; from which books, moreover, I was taught to make extracts occasionally, namely: the famous Provincial Letters of Pascal, written in French, with a Latin translation, and notes, even worse than the text of Nicole, by Wendrak; also 'La Morale pratique des Jésuites," by Arnaldo; on which works and others of a like tendency I then placed implicit credit. Such being the circumstances under which both of us had derived our youthful impressions, who could possibly have at that time foreseen that the Benedictine monk, transformed into a Pope, should afterwards, when only recently escaped a cruel tempest of persecution, restore the Society of Jesus to the world in the face of such a variety of sects and irreconcilable enemies? and also that the grateful, honourable execution of his sovereign command should have devolved on myself as his minister? Nevertheless, such satisfaction was indeed, in the course of events, decreed us! As I happened to be in Rome at both epochs of the

Society, that of the *Clementine* suppression and the *Pian* restitution, I can perfectly recollect the different effects that each event respectively produced upon the people. For example, on the 17th of August, in the year 1773, on the publication of the Brief "Dominus et Redemptor noster,"[1] surprise and dissatisfaction were visible on the countenance of every Roman inhabitant; while, on the contrary, it were difficult to give an idea of the joyful shouts and acclamations with which the good Roman people testified their gratification on the 7th of August, 1814, as they accompanied Pius VII. from the Quirinale Palace to the Church of Gesu, and thence, after the reading of the Bull of Restitution, back again in triumph to the Quirinale. I have purposely made this digression, in order that I may insert in this my narrative, as it were, a solemn retractation of language which, in the imprudence of youth in former days, and under other influences, I may have uttered derogatory to an order which, on the contrary, is so well deserving of the Church of God.

In my daily audiences with the Pope it very frequently happened, as it did to the other cardinals, that

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[1] The Lord and our Redeemer.

I found myself in a considerable state of embarrassment in consequence of having necessarily to speak to the Holy Father on matters of business, although, as I have before stated, such intercourse was prohibited by the Emperor under pain of the loss of liberty. Being in this predicament, many persons notwithstanding from all parts of France, including not a few of the clergy and even laymen, were continually arriving at Fontainebleau for the express purpose—under the calamitous state of the times—of seeking instruction in various matters, and of obtaining dispensations and other spiritual favours. Had we been in Italy, we should have been even less perplexed than here in France; for, whether it be that the Italian character is more timid and suspicious, or that the French are a more courageous and less reflecting people, certain it is at any rate that the French, in operations that require circumspection, have not recourse to the same precautions with ourselves, and consequently things which properly ought to remain concealed, are not preserved in France with a due degree of secrecy. A single anecdote will be sufficient to illustrate the above proposition, in the instance of a lady of my acquaintance in Paris, who came to Fontainebleau in the month of July, and in the course of our conversation informed

me that it was proposed by some pious and religious females in the capital to celebrate, instead of the festival of S. Pietro in Vincoli, a nine days' festival for the purpose of offering up prayers to Heaven for the liberation of the Head of the Church, wherefore, she said, they were desirous, through my intervention, of obtaining from the Holy Father an indulgence for all the ladies who attended the ceremonial. I spoke to the Pope immediately on the subject, and obtained the required indulgence from the Holy Father, whose answer, without putting pen to paper, I gave, as I was in the habit of doing from precautionary motives, by word of mouth. Notwithstanding that prudential considerations dictated the utmost circumspection in the above affair, to the end that the Pope's interference by the concession of the indulgence, and even the celebration of the proposed festival, should be kept from the knowledge of the government, I was informed a few days after my interview with the lady above alluded to, with infinite surprise and agitation of mind, that a letter had arrived at Fontainebleau from Paris, written for the express purpose of putting the Pope and the Cardinals on their guard with respect to granting spiritual favours, issuing resolutions, or giving any sort of answer to interrogations on matters of religion; and

farther stating that the proposed festival for the purpose of praying for the Pope's liberation, and the indulgence granted in consequence, had not only been publicly talked about in Paris, but a note of invitation to the ceremonial had actually been circulated in the principal salons. The letter also intimated that in consequence of the above note of invitation becoming public, several ladies had already been summoned on the subject by the police, who, determined to sift the affair to the bottom, were making inquisitorial researches; at all events, whatever were the results of those inquiries, no untoward accident to ourselves arose out of the affair, nor do I find from my memoranda that any notice was taken by the Holy Father of the circumstance.

In the mean time I was placed in a more precarious position than any of my colleagues for various reasons; in the first place, a small book had been printed and published in France under the title 'Correspondance,' which contained several strongly expressed ministerial notes that, while I was pro-secretary of state in Rome, I had addressed to the General Miollis, commandant of the French troops in the city. Another matter of notoriety was my arrest at Rome, and long subsequent imprisonment in the fortress of Fenestrelle; in ad-

dition to which, common report gave me the credit of being a person whom Napoleon was highly irritated against for having continually thwarted him in his designs, and in his treaties with the Pope. The effect consequently that an opinion, so universally prevailing among the French public, had upon myself was, that everybody who was desirous of ascertaining his Holiness's real sentiments and intentions on a question of interest relating to the Church, invariably had recourse to me, influenced by the certainty of not having to deal with one of Napoleon's liege cardinals, or a person ignorant of the Pope's policy. Such visits, however, as I said before, caused me grievous embarrassment; being averse, on the one hand, to refuse to grant an audience, and listen to the statements of persons who, availing themselves of the right possessed in common with all the faithful of having recourse to the Supreme Head of the Church in matters of religion and conscience, had taken the trouble to come to Fontainebleau; and, on their arrival, not being permitted to apply direct to the Holy Father, necessarily addressed themselves to one of his Cardinals. While, on the other hand, I entertained the well-founded apprehension that the so-called police of Paris, who with their hundred eyes were narrowly scrutinizing the movements of all

of us Cardinals, might themselves artfully send people with petitions and applications of various sorts, for the very purpose of finding out whether we were still continuing to direct the affairs of the Church, and to correspond with the clergy of the different provinces, contrary to the Emperor's prohibition. It therefore became indispensable to use the most extreme caution, and to avoid by all means giving a direct answer to any application whatever, without being previously assured it was made in good faith by a person to be depended on.

Among the great numbers of people who under the above circumstances came to consult me at Fontainebleau, there was one gentleman who introduced himself as a judge of one of the tribunals at Bordeaux, and, as he told me, had an express commission from several ecclesiastics, and other good Catholics, to ascertain from the Pope, whether his Holiness, notwithstanding the violent treatment received by him by his expulsion from Rome, and his long subsequent imprisonment, still considered the Concordat of the year 1801 to be valid and in full force. I perceived immediately that the stranger, my visitor, as well as those who had induced him to undertake so long a journey, belonged to the party, or, to speak more properly, *sect* of the Purists,

who had always refused to recognize that Concordat, as, with reference to their history, in my relation of my residence at Grenoble[1] I have already briefly stated. From the tenor of my visitor's conversation I farther gathered that his principals had directed him to apply particularly to myself, in consequence of a report which—I know not how it found its way so far off—prevailed in the country he came from, to the effect that I disapproved, and had always been a resolute opponent of that convention. In answer to his interrogations, and to give him satisfaction, I told him that I neither had, nor could have given to the Pope any opinion, either favourable or unfavourable to the Concordat of 1801, having been absent from Italy at the period in question, and serving abroad as nuncio of the Holy See in Portugal, where, previous to the event being notified in my dispatches from Rome, I first read the articles of the convention in the French journals. Had I been at Rome, I added, I should probably, to speak sincerely, have been among those of my colleagues who counselled the Pope *not* to ratify that treaty; but even in that case I should, the moment the Holy Father determined otherwise, have certainly

[1] See vol. i., page 233.

given no farther expression to my own private sentiments, but, on the contrary, would have promoted its execution by all the means in my power. I then proceeded to assure him that the Holy Father, notwithstanding that for just and good reasons he had thought proper temporarily to suspend the execution of the Concordat of 1801, considered it a valid document notwithstanding; and I desired him therefore to inform the persons at Bordeaux who had sent him to me, that the bishops nominated by Napoleon, and confirmed by the Pope, as well as the parish priests who had received canonical institution from those bishops, ought to be considered true, legitimate pastors. I immediately perceived by the stranger's countenance that he would have been better satisfied with a different answer, though he received the intelligence I gave him with docility and resignation; and I trust, when he returned to Bordeaux, repeated it with sincerity and correctly.

On the 7th of May the Emperor gained the battle of Lutzen. So soon as the news of the victory reached Paris, the Empress Maria Louisa dispatched a court page to the Pope at Fontainebleau with a letter, announcing the event as one that, in consequence of the friendship that, well known to her Majesty, his Holiness entertained towards the Emperor her spouse,

must necessarily give satisfaction to the Holy Father. It was, nevertheless, a bitter pill to swallow, not precisely on account of our wishing ill to the French nation and its armies, but from a natural disinclination to applaud the victories and triumphs of the potentate who at that moment held the Pope in a state of exile and vilification, and even menaced his future fortunes with a lot still less auspicious. The being obliged, therefore, to concert an answer to the Empress was no very easy matter, being on the one hand bound by the duties of urbanity and good breeding to give a reply at all events, to a sovereign lady who had at least performed a polite and courteous act towards the Holy Father; while, on the other, we were under the necessity of weighing our words with the utmost caution, in order to avoid introducing any sort of expression that might bear the interpretation of joy and congratulation: a sentiment that, as the Pope's reply would necessarily be printed and published in the gazettes and journals, was calculated to offend and irritate every power in Europe hostile to France. The answer, composed accordingly in a cold, reserved style, was confined to bare thanks and an acknowledgment of the intelligence; while at the same time, with a view to prevent its publication, though every expression

contained in it was innocent in the highest degree, reference was purposely made, under the form of a complaint against the government, to the severe measures it had adopted towards ourselves, particularly in the instance of the arrest and deportation of the excellent Cardinal Di Pietro. The original letter, which, all in the Pope's own handwriting, is in my possession, is as follows:—

"While we render our thanks for the filial attention of your Majesty towards us, in having been pleased yesterday to communicate to us your Majesty's joy in consequence of the splendid victory gained on the 2nd May instant by his Majesty the Emperor and King at the head of his powerful armies, we ought not at the same time to dissimulate, or refrain from telling your Majesty as a devoted daughter of the Holy Church, that at first sight of the dispatch we were induced to believe it contained a revocation of those measures of extreme severity that now for more than a month have been enforced against our own person and against the persons of our Cardinals.

"In case your Majesty be not aware of the grievance we allude to, we pray your Majesty to make inquiry on the subject, seeking to know whence can have

emanated orders which, so contrary to the rights of the Catholic Church, and even to the rights of nations, are consequently, we are not inclined to doubt, contrary to the intentions of the Emperor, from whom through your Majesty's intercession we venture to augur sentiments that may lead to the establishment of a solid peace, which is the best fruit of victories.

"We pray God to inspire him through salutary counsels with the desire to protect the Catholic Church, to restore to liberty ourselves and the members of the Sacred College, and to use the speediest means in his power to pacify the long tormented and disordered world. In conclusion, we beseech the Giver of all good to pour upon your Majesty with his own hands his celestial benediction.

(Signed) "PIUS P. P. VII.

"*Fontainebleau*, 8 *May*, 1813."

The above answer of his Holiness to the Empress was the means of cutting short at once in its commencement a correspondence craftily undertaken for the purpose of quieting the clamour of well-intentioned people, and making the public believe that the Pope and the Emperor were really about to open a new treaty of adjustment. A report to that effect was

in fact actually circulated in Paris, and was the means, notwithstanding there was no truth in it, of accelerating the death of the excellent Conte Muzzarelli, theologian of the Penitenzeria in Rome, who was at that time residing in a state of banishment in the French capital. This worthy, pious ecclesiastic, author of several works on sacred subjects, was then labouring under a severe illness; so that the report in question, which was originated for political purposes, aggravated the symptoms of his complaint to an extraordinary degree. A little before his death he openly declared the grief he felt from the fear of a new treaty with Napoleon, at the same time entreating his friends to communicate his sentiments to the Pope, and dissuade his Holiness from undertaking any sort of negotiation with the perfidious, irreligious French government.

Here I may as well introduce another anecdote, which, though following the melancholy death of the good Muzzarelli, is more of a dramatic nature, and might almost be made the subject of a comedy. Walking one morning through a part of the town in the vicinity of the palace, I happened to meet the superior of the establishment called "Sisters of Charity," who with an air of great mystery gave me a letter addressed to the Pope by, she said, Cardinal de Bourbon,

who, she added, had been discovered in an unexpected manner by one of the diocesans of the Archbishopric of Toledo in the hospital at Sedan, standing incognito among the patients. I immediately suspected that the story was the trick of an impostor, who in hopes to better his condition temporarily had invented it; consequently, all that day I said nothing on the subject to the Pope, though the same evening, being by chance at the house of the Cardinal Pignatelli, there, in the presence of the Cardinals Litta, Saluzzo, and Consalvi, I opened the letter. It was written in the Spanish language, without a signature, in a feigned handwriting, and contained nothing but trashy, incoherent matter, which from its insignificance was calculated the more to confirm my previous impression that it was the work of an impostor. The next morning, however, more by way of relating an amusing incident than for any other reason, I showed the letter to the Pope. A few days afterwards there arrived from Sedan letters written by the cardinals who were residing there in a state of deportation, repeating the account of the supposed discovery of the Cardinal de Bourbon in the hospital, and stating in addition to the comically romantic circumstance above mentioned, that the dignitary of the purple in question, obliged to quit his residence when

his vast arch-diocese became occupied by the French troops, having no means in his absence from home of exercising his authority, was induced by his pastoral zeal secretly to introduce himself in the disguise of a monk into one of his own monasteries, whence, having taken up his abode there, he corresponded with the principal ministers of his clergy. The French troops, however, having entered the city or village where this monastery was situated, took all the monks prisoners and transported them to other towns in France, including the Cardinal de Bourbon, whom they did not recognise among the captives. The Cardinal, as the letters stated, having fallen sick at Sedan, was carried to the hospital, where, as I said before, he was fortuitously discovered by the diocesan of Toledo. The Cardinal de Bourbon being thus recognized, was treated with remarkable signs of homage and veneration, not only by the diocesan, but by the local magistracy, who, the moment the news reached their body, sent a deputation to wait upon him, and having removed him to a more convenient place of residence, and furnished him with garments suited to his dignity, continued in all other respects the same deferential behaviour. It appeared, moreover, that the newly-found cardinal had already dispatched a letter to the

Empress and another to the Pope, and that they proposed to make application to the government in Paris in favour of our colleague. Notwithstanding the above suggestion, all of us adhered to our original impression that the whole story was a fabrication, and that the self-dubbed cardinal was an impostor; so indeed it turned out in reality, and letters arrived a few days afterwards that duly informed us of his detection.

I have been induced to relate the above anecdote with especial reference to a fact indicative of the character of the people in the instance in question, namely, the credulity of the French magistrates, who, so soon as they heard that the Cardinal de Bourbon was at Sedan, without reflecting like ourselves on the probable truth of the story, gave it implicit credit at once without consideration. In this, as well as in many similar instances during my residence in France, I have had reason to remark, with regard to that highly civilized, well informed nation, that very many of its inhabitants preserve, even to the present day, the character of the ancient Gauls, their ancestors, as described by Julius Cæsar in his 'Commentaries,' and that they possess now, as formerly, the same tendency to listen to, and believe

without hesitation, every vague report and story they hear circulated among the public. [1]

In the summer of 1813, news arrived at Fontainebleau that an armistice had been concluded between the French army and the armies of the allies, and that a congress of ministers of the different powers was about to assemble at Prague, under the mediation

[1] "His de rebus Cæsar certior factus, et infirmitatem Gallorum veritus quod sunt in consiliis capiendis mobiles et novis plerumque rebus student, nihil his committendum existimavit. Est autem hoc Gallicæ consuetudinis, uti et viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant, et quod quisque eorum de quâque re audierit aut cognoverit, quærant; et mercatores in oppidis vulgus circumsistat, quibusque ex regionibus veniant, quasque ibi res cognoverint, pronuntiare cogant. His rumoribus atque auditionibus permoti, de summis sæpe rebus consilia ineunt, quorum eos e vestigio pœnitere necesse est, cum incertis rumoribus serviant, et plerique ad voluntatem eorum ficta respondeant."—Lib. iv. cap. 5.*

* Cæsar being informed of these matters, and apprehensive of the propensity of the Gauls to vacillate in their councils and incline to innovations, determined to place nothing in their power. It is in fact a common custom among them to stop every traveller, whether he will or not, and inquire of him all he has heard and seen; in the towns also the common people crowd round the merchants, and oblige them to tell them the countries whence they came, and what they have learnt there. Then, influenced by such tales and hearsay, they often undertake measures of the deepest importance, that, from the very commencement, they afterwards have to repent, in consequence of acting upon uncertainty, and very frequently on the faith of answers that their respondents invent on purpose.

of the Emperor of Austria, for the purpose of arranging the preliminaries of a general peace. Under such favourable circumstances the Pope was advised, according to a common saying, not to remain with his hands in his girdle, but, on the contrary, to take advantage of the occasion to reclaim, in the face of all Europe, the rights of the Holy See over the Roman states. The Holy Father, therefore, immediately composed and wrote with his own hand the following letter to the Emperor Francis:—

"To our most Beloved Son in Christ, Health and Apostolic Benediction.

"It has come to our knowledge that a Congress, for the purpose of securing the interests of the different European states by a general peace, is about to assemble at Prague, under the mediation of your imperial and royal Majesty.

"Your Majesty's piety and sense of religion, your Majesty's love of justice, your Majesty's filial devotion and interest for our person, notified to us by his Excellency Count Metternich, while we were under detention at Savona, no less than by the part taken by your Majesty during our late grievous misfortunes, furnish so many reasons to induce us to approach your

Majesty on the present occasion, entertaining a well-founded confidence that we approach not your Majesty in vain.

"Head of the Catholic Church as we are, and sovereign of the Pontifical states, we advance our claims for the recovery of the aforesaid states, of which we find ourselves deprived on account of having declined to take part in the past and present wars, and having kept ourselves in the state of neutrality that befits us in our quality of common Father, and the interests of religion, diffused through the different dominions of so many princes, equally require.

"Far from having ever renounced the sovereignty of our states, we have, on the contrary, at all times and in all places loudly reclaimed our rights: rights that are confirmed by the possession of more than ten centuries,—a period of possession probably the longest of any existing dynasty.

"Again on the present occasion we reclaim those rights, not doubting that we do so with reason; as the justice of our cause and the sacred interests of religion require of us for the preservation of the free, impartial exercise of our spiritual power as Head of the Catholic Church all over the Catholic world.

"While the free, impartial exercise of such a power

is a point of universal interest to nations, the necessity of the independence of the Head of our religion, even without adding other arguments, has been but too clearly demonstrated by recent events, and in our own person. Our own sole example has sufficiently shown the degree of liberty accorded to a Supreme Pontiff, under circumstances when, himself deprived of his sovereignty, subjected to the power of another prince, and compelled to reside in another's dominions, he labours in his ministry, impeded by obstacles which, under such a state of thraldom, political jealousies place in the way of his authority. In good truth, the universal Church has not for many years been governed by the chief invested by her Divine Founder with the authority.

"In our own name, therefore, and in the name of the Holy Apostolic See, we reclaim the restoration of its rights, throughout the whole of the dominions that form—not our patrimony, but the patrimony of St. Peter: a patrimony that, as has been acknowledged even by writers inimical to the Holy See, God has given to the Head of his Church, to enable him to exercise his celestial power in governing the souls and in preserving unity among the entire body of the faithful, distributed, as they are, over so many empires and nations frequently belligerent.

" The imperative obligation that impels us to make this our present appeal to your Majesty, proceeds not from the ambition of dominion, neither from the desire of possession, but we are inspired by our sacred duties towards God, the Church, and our people; not less by the oaths which, on our assumption of the Pontificate, we have taken to preserve, defend, and vindicate the rights and possessions of the Holy Apostolic See.

" Were it possible, we would not fail, on the present occasion, to dispatch to Prague a diplomatist, to represent and enforce our arguments before the Congress; but, under our present situation, we are by no means certain that we have even the power to cause this our present letter safely to reach your Majesty; hoping, nevertheless, that our letter may be presented to your Majesty, we pray your Majesty, in quality of mediator in the peace about to be treated of, to use your Majesty's intercession to the end that ourselves, as well as others, may be represented by a diplomatist in Congress; and with more earnest anxiety we confide to the care of your Majesty the protection of a cause which is not only our own, but the cause of the Holy See and of the Catholic religion.

" Filled with confidence in the character and sentiments that so much distinguish your Majesty, we cease

not, in the bitterness of our heart and in the midst of our disasters, to offer up our prayers to God for your Majesty's prosperity and the prosperity of your Majesty's august family, to whom, with the most lively affection, we give the apostolic benediction.

(Signed) "PIUS P.P. VII.

"*Fontainebleau*, 24*th July*, 1813,
"*In the Fourteenth year of our Pontificate.*"

The above letter to the Emperor Francis was enclosed in another letter, the latter also in the handwriting of the Holy Father, addressed to Monsignor Severoli, nuncio of the Holy See at Vienna, who was requested to present it to the Emperor. It was as follows:—

"MONSIGNOR NUNCIO,

"Having been informed that a congress for a general peace has been finally resolved upon, and that it is immediately about to assemble at Prague, we hasten to fulfil, as far as is possible to us in our present situation, a duty that we believe ourselves obliged to perform under present circumstances.

"By the hand of a person in our full confidence we transmit to you this packet in which you will find a

letter unsealed, in order that you may be aware of its contents, addressed by ourselves to his Majesty the Emperor Francis, mediator of the peace. After sealing it, you will have it delivered without delay into his Majesty's own hands, in whatever way and by whatever means you yourself for the sake of security may judge most expedient. Provided you have an opportunity of speaking to his Majesty, you will not fail in conversation to enlarge upon the subject of our letter, since we have not thought fit to write to his Majesty at length, neither are we ourselves, as you will well understand, in a condition to do so. The confidential person who brings you the packet, will more particularly inform you of the state we and those about us are in; and through him you may inform us of all you feel inclined to say for our private information. In your prayers to God, let not ourselves be forgotten, that he may sustain us in the state of tribulation with which for several years he has been pleased to visit us. Be assured of our affection and esteem, and with all effusion of heart we give you the apostolic benediction.

(Signed) "PIUS P. P. VII.

"*Fontainebleau, 24th July*, 1813."

In the same packet there was also contained a third

short letter, in the Pope's handwriting, to Monsignor Severoli, to serve as a summary of the other, for better security. This letter, as well as the preceding one, are both in my possession. It is as follows:—

"MONSIGNOR NUNCIO,

"Enclosed we transmit to you a letter from ourselves to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, unsealed, on purpose that you may know its contents. Having sealed it, you will cause it to be delivered, with the least delay possible, into the hands of his Majesty, sending it by the way and in the manner you find most opportune. From what you have assuredly already learnt relating to our actual situation, and from the perusal of our letter to his Majesty, you will well comprehend that your answer to ourselves acknowledging the receipt of this our present letter, would have little chance of arriving if sent by post; we therefore leave to your own prudence to determine the manner of making its receipt known to us, without compromising either yourself or others. Recommend us to the Lord, that he may support us under our tribulation, and we give you affectionately our apostolic benediction.

(Signed) "PIUS P. P. VII.

"*Fontainebleau, 24th July*, 1813."

The packet containing the three above-cited letters having been secretly consigned to the care of the young Count Tommaso Bernetti, nephew of his Eminence Cardinal Brancadoro and himself since a Cardinal, Bernetti, who at that time had come to France on a visit to his uncle, proceeded immediately to Maestricht, where, according to his instructions, he delivered the packet to a high-spirited young man sincerely devoted to the Holy See, named Wandervek. Wandervek, leaving Maestricht, immediately proceeded, in the character of a commercial traveller, to Vienna, and having placed the Holy Father's letter in the nuncio's own hands, after some time had passed, he brought back the nuncio's answer.

The Pope's letter to the Emperor of Austria is properly to be considered a protest against the sacrilegious occupation of the Pontifical States, and was an indispensable measure after the promulgation of the Concordat of the 25th of January, in order that no advantage might be taken at the congress of Prague of the articles of that convention, and for fear the silence of the Pope might be construed as a tacit renunciation of his temporal dominion over the Roman States. The pious sovereign to whom it was addressed had not been able, at either of the two sad epochs of the de-

portation of the two Popes, Pius VI. and Pius VII., to lift up his voice in favour of these persecuted pontiffs, in consequence of being himself in a state of war, or having just then concluded with the French a disadvantageous treaty tending to the destruction of the Austrian empire. In the present instance he was in a position to be able to reclaim the rights of the Holy See with good effect, as his piety and religion would certainly have induced him to do; but notwithstanding the pains taken to forward the letter from the Holy Father, the congress was already dissolved when the Emperor received it.

During the last months of our residence at Fontainebleau several attempts to renew a negotiation with the Holy Father were made by the French Government, who, I imagine, neither do I think my ideas lead me far wrong, probably entertained no really sincere intention to put an end to differences, or re-organize the affairs of the Church; but they were desirous of removing, or at least diminishing, the sinister impression that the protracted imprisonment of the Pope, the state of anarchy into which the Church, deprived of its centre of unity, was thrown, and the cessation of intercourse between the faithful and their supreme head and pastor, had generally created among the people. Moreover,

Napoleon foresaw, no doubt, that ere long circumstances would compel him to enter into negotiations of peace with the allied powers, and that, among other conditions, he would be obliged to make restoration of the Roman States, so that it was naturally his policy at the present crisis to render to the Pope a small instalment, as it were, of satisfaction, and, by the restitution of a small portion of the Papal States, place himself in a position to be enabled to say, through his ministers and plenipotentiaries, to the congress, that so far as regarded the Holy See all matters in dispute between the Pope and himself were already accommodated, and that consequently interference on the part of the congress was superfluous.

Meanwhile the Cardinals, loud and strenuous in their exhortations to the Holy Father, did all in their power to induce him to break off at once all manner of negotiation, and to meet every proposal tending to the commencement of a discussion with the same resolute, direct answer; namely, that in no other place than Rome, and under no other circumstances than in a state of perfect liberty and surrounded by the Sacred College, would he listen to any proposition whatever from the French Government. At the period in question, it would in fact have been the height of folly to

enter upon any sort of treaty, for the armies of the allied powers, then assailing France in all directions, appeared by their victories and rapid progress, to announce the moment not far distant when the Lord, casting away, at least laying aside for a while, the rod which he had hitherto made use of, would cease to chastise the nations. Prudence, therefore, bidding us await the result of the great struggle now going forward, further dictated to us not only to avoid giving cause of displeasure to the allied sovereigns by leading them to imagine that a reconciliation between Bonaparte and the Pope—an event that would certainly have irritated them—was nearly being concluded; but, on the contrary, to endeavour by all the means in our power to make them forget the Pope's too great condescension, and blot for ever, if possible, from the minds of the Princes of the House of Bourbon the coronation of the Emperor of the French.

The first individual employed on the part of the French Government, who appeared upon the stage, to open a treaty of reconciliation and concord between the priesthood and the empire, was—it can hardly be believed—a lady! Neither is the expression I have used with reference to the usages of a theatre, ill-suited to the singularly comic expedition in question. The

female alluded to was the Marchese Anne Brignole, a native of Sienna, married to a Genoese, whose talents and eccentricity having recommended her to the good graces of Bonaparte, during his transactions with the Ligurian Republic, she held the situation, at the time in question, of lady-in-waiting to the Empress Maria Louisa. The Marchese arrived at Fontainebleau one evening unexpectedly, if I remember right, in the month of November, and had an interview with Cardinal Consalvi, with whom she had been acquainted for many years. She told the Cardinal "that Prince Talleyrand had had a long conference with the Emperor, and had requested her to undertake her present mission for the purpose of intimating to the Pope's ministers the inclination of the French Government, who, she said, were desirous of accommodating all matters in dispute by a new treaty; it would be opportune, therefore, she added, on the part of the Holy Father, if his Holiness were to dispatch a cardinal to Paris, to reside at the court of the Emperor." On the same day Cardinal Consalvi communicated the circumstances of the lady's visit and the proposal made by her, to the Pope and to several of the cardinals, who, after a brief consultation, and without taking much time for consideration, replied to Madame Brignole, by observ-

ing that neither was the present the time, nor Paris the place, for entering upon the proposed discussion.

The next negotiator, after this ambassadress, to whom the epithet *extraordinary* may very properly be applied, was an ecclesiastic, Monseigneur Etienne Fallot de Beaumont, Bishop of Piacenza. This prelate, a native of Avignon, was born in the year 1750, and by the sacred hands of Pius VI. was promoted to the bishopric of Vaison. Thence, in consequence of the persecution of the Catholic clergy, being compelled to leave France, he came to Italy, where he found an asylum, and received assistance in money from his sovereign. At the conclusion of the Concordat of 1801 he returned to France, and was one of those bishops who, in compliance with the Pope's desire, renounced their episcopal sees; after which renunciation he was nominated by the First Consul Bonaparte to the noble bishopric of Ghent, in Flanders. In 1807 he was translated from Ghent to the episcopal see of Piacenza by Napoleon, whose object was to fulfil his project of elevating French prelates to the episcopal sees of Lombardy and Tuscany, in order to introduce into Italy the maxims of the Gallican Church, and, as it were, to Gallicanise the Italian Church. So soon as he had arrived at his new domicile, Fallot de Beaumont practised all his energy to

persuade those of the Roman clergy who were residing within the see of Piacenza in a state of deportation, to take the oath prescribed by Napoleon, notwithstanding it was protested against and declared illicit by the Pope; by which means he gained more favour with Napoleon, as well as subsequently, by ardently supporting his projects relating to ecclesiastical affairs at the Assembly of Bishops held in 1811, and in the negotiations with the Pope at Savona. For services of such a description he was again translated from Piacenza to the archiepiscopate of Bourges, as if it were necessary thus by a third translation to prove anew the zeal of French bishops for the ancient discipline of the Church, which, as is commonly known to every one, looks upon the frequent changing from one Church to another as so many acts of spiritual adultery.

Monseigneur Fallot de Beaumont having been employed for the purpose of endeavouring to enter upon a new treaty with the Holy Father, came twice within the space of a few days to Fontainebleau in consequence, both which expeditions, though he met with very little success on either occasion, afforded a considerable topic of discussion in the French journals and gazettes after the fall of Napoleon. As the various accounts, discreditable in the highest degree to the character of the

bishop, are at the same time incorrect and exaggerated in several instances, and as Monseigneur Fallot de Beaumont, for his own justification, published in the same journals a relation of all that occurred at his interviews with the Holy Father, I have thought proper to insert in the present place the bishop's own version of the part he took in the negotiation in question.

The following are the precise words of the Bishop of Piacenza:—

"The love of truth, aided by the desire to render just homage to his Holiness, and to make still more manifest to the world the gentleness of character of which he has given so many luminous proofs, induce me to publish an exact relation of all that happened in the two missions to the Holy Father, which the late Government commissioned me to undertake. I shall give an account different from that which has been inserted in the 'Gazette de France' of the 10th of April, but my account will be the true one.

"On the 18th of December, 1803, I was sent for by one of the ministers, who proposed to me to go to Fontainebleau, and to obtain information, verbally, whether his Holiness was disposed to enter upon measures of accommodation, such as might put an end to the differences that existed between his Holiness and the Govern-

ment. No blame, it appears to me, can be attached to a bishop for having accepted such a mission, but, on the contrary, to myself nothing could have been more agreeable, nor at the same time more conformable to my sense of honour, than the duty of negotiating with the Head of the faithful, and being the bearer to a Pontiff so holy and so good, of pacific, conciliatory proposals.

"It were, I believe, superfluous to assert that I never should have thought of undertaking a mission having for its object rigorous measures, menaces, or even the making any sort of proposal at variance with the sincere attachment and profound veneration which, together with all the rest of the faithful, I profess for the supreme pastor, the august prisoner.[1] On the 19th,

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[1] The Bishop of Piacenza appears to have forgotten many circumstances relating to his former conduct previous to accepting the commission in question to the Pope at Fontainebleau. The attachment here professed to the head of the church ill accords with the pains he took to induce, first by fair words, and afterwards by menaces, the respectable ecclesiastics of the Roman clergy who were living in a state of banishment at Piacenza to take the oath required of them by the French Government, notwithstanding it was pronounced illegal, and had been prohibited by the Pope. Neither is his declaration of loyalty conformable with the intrigues he took part in at Paris for the purpose of coercing the will of the Pope while he was a prisoner at Savona, and obliging him to yield to pretensions of the Emperor detrimental to the sacred rights of the Roman primacy.

therefore, I proceeded to Fontainebleau, and having requested an audience through the means of Monsignor the Archbishop of Edessa, his Holiness was pleased to admit me immediately to his presence.

"After having paid my compliments to the Holy Father on the occasion of the festival of the Holy Nativity, and expressed the pain that, in common with every member of the Church, I experienced in consequence of his continued absence from the Holy See, I added that, 'at the same time there appeared to me a possibility that the obstacles which had so long opposed themselves to his return to the Papal States were capable of being removed.' To this the Holy Father, with extreme affability, replied, "that having in the presence of God scrutinized the motives of his own conduct, nothing could induce him to change his opinion; and as he was averse to discuss any matters of business, he had prohibited the Cardinals from addressing him at all on public affairs.' His Holiness then turned the conversation to indifferent subjects, and, after giving me his hand to kiss, dismissed me. On the 21st I returned to Paris, and having related to the Minister who had commissioned me to go to Fontainebleau, all that passed at the above-mentioned interview, I dismissed the subject from my mind altogether. The permission thus

given to myself to go to Fontainebleau was extended in like manner to others of my colleagues in the episcopate, who went thither accordingly, not for the purpose of exacting concessions of right from the Holy Father, as is asserted in the account published in the 'Gazette de France,' but absolutely for no other object than to present their homage of profound respect and devotion.

"On the 16th January, 1814, having determined to go to Bourges on the 20th, I took leave of the Minister above alluded to, from whom I subsequently received a letter, on the 18th, two days before my intended departure, desiring me to call upon him. I waited on the Minister in consequence, and had a long conversation with him, in the course of which he put into my hands the rough draft of a treaty and a minute of a letter which I was desired to make the groundwork of a communication from myself to his Holiness to serve as the credentials of my mission. The Minister preserved himself a copy of both these papers, by the former of which it was stipulated that the States of the Holy Father were to be restored to him, as I can positively affirm and have documents in my possession to prove, without any drawback or equivalent.[1]

[1] The Bishop of Piacenza is here incorrect The restitution only of the two departments of Rome and Trasimeno were offered; and the offer,

"On the 19th, when I arrived at Fontainebleau, I was furnished with lodgings in the palace, and on the 20th, having had the letter above referred to, which explained the object of my journey, delivered to the Holy Father by Monsignor the Archbishop of Edessa, I obtained an interview at half-past eleven o'clock in the morning. His Holiness received me with his usual kindness, but, with regard to the object of my visit, told me that 'he would by no means listen to any terms of negotiation relating to the restitution of his States, nor acknowledge what was in itself a bare act of justice to be a fit subject for a treaty—a treaty, moreover, which, were it entered upon at all under present circumstances while he was banished from his States, would have the appearance of being compulsory, and consequently his acquiescence would inflict a scandal on the Christian world.' The Holy Father added that 'he wanted nothing more than to be allowed to return to Rome as soon as possible, whither Providence, without other assistance, would direct him.' To this

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moreover, made at a time when both, being already occupied by Neapolitan troops, were at the disposition of the Allied Sovereigns, and consequently no longer in Napoleon's possession. Whether an equivalent for the restitution were demanded or not I cannot say, for the Pope would not allow the proposed treaty to be read to him by the Bishop of Piacenza.

expression of his wishes I urged the inclemency of the season. His Holiness replied that 'no earthly obstacle would prevent him;' adding at the same time, what at the moment made a deep impression on my mind,— 'For our own part,' said he, 'our sins may possibly have rendered us unworthy to behold Rome again, but rest assured our successors, if not we ourselves, will regain all that belongs to us.'

"Such is the true account of what passed at the above interview, relative to which everything in addition that is stated in the 'Gazette de France' is void of foundation. Previous to taking leave of the Holy Father, I requested permission to present myself the next day, and so soon as I had retired I immediately dispatched an express to the Government with an account of my conversation with his Holiness, and at the same time pressing upon their attention the earnest desire of the Holy Father to return to Rome. On the 21st I waited on the Holy Father again about noon, and had another conversation with his Holiness, which, however, bore on indifferent subjects exclusively—principally events that had occurred in Rome while both of us were living there together. On retiring I announced to him that I was about to return the next day to Paris, and at the same time told his Holiness that I hoped ere long he

also would have to leave Fontainebleau : an event, I said, that in the letter I had written to the Government I had endeavoured to accelerate; finally, I requested his Holiness's benediction. In reply, however, to the latter intimation, his Holiness observed that such was his sole desire, adding at the same time, in terms that mark the piety and sweetness of his disposition, 'Assure the Emperor,' said he, "that I am not his enemy; my religion forbids it. I love France, and when I am in Rome I shall do, it will appear, what is right.' I then took my leave, and after having offered the observances of ceremony towards the Holy Father that deep filial respect required of me, I received from his Holiness signal proofs of goodness – I may almost venture to say, of affection. During the short period I remained I paid visits to all the cardinals who were residing in the palace, and I also dined with them on the 19th, 20th, and 21st, though, not being enjoined by my instructions to enter upon matters of business with their Eminences, our conversation was invariably restricted to commonplace matters.

"On the 22nd I left Fontainebleau at seven o'clock in the morning on my return to Paris. On passing out of the city I met three carriages on their way to the palace, which carriages I afterwards understood

were intended for the removal of the Holy Father, but with the circumstances of that removal and the events that followed I have nothing to do, and therefore I here close my account, which, in order to corroborate my own assertions, shall be laid at the feet of his Holiness, whose testimony I venture to invoke, without fear of contradiction. With regard to the account of the same circumstances given by the 'Gazette de France,' it is therein affirmed that several cardinals expressed a wish that it should be more generally notified to the public; while, on the contrary, I have the means of proving that one of the cardinals especially to whom the account of the 'Gazette de France' was read, actually uttered the exclamation, 'It is not true!' at the conclusion of every article. With respect to the interviews with his Holiness, whose expressions I have given in his own words, in order to show his goodness of heart and unalterable kindness even in the midst of sufferings, the documents relating to the whole negotiation are in my possession, and will be shown to whomsoever may desire to see them.

(Signed) "STEFANO V. DI PIACENZA.

"*Paris, 2nd May,* 1814."

It was only a few days previous to the last visit of the

Bishop of Piacenza to Fontainebleau, that while I was in the chamber of Cardinal Consalvi, Colonel Lagorse entered the room unexpectedly, and observing that, having something to say to each of us, he was glad to see us both together, commenced a rather formidable harangue, of which the evident object was, as far as lay in his power, to induce us to use our influence towards re-opening the communication between the Pope and the Emperor. Perceiving at once that the primary cause of his application at the present crisis was the desire of having it believed by all good Catholics, whom it was an essential policy of the Government to conciliate, that a state of harmony between his Holiness and the Imperial Government, if not already perfect, was immediately about to be re-established, we both conjointly gave him to understand that we were not only cognizant of, but prepared to adhere to the reply that the Pope had already given on the same subject. Of this conversation Cardinal Consalvi, who took the principal part in it, gave me next day to read a very complete account, relating all that passed, in his own handwriting.

On the morning of the 22nd of January two empty travelling carriages, that arrived from Paris at an early hour, were suffered to remain in the square in front of the palace; and during the same forenoon Colonel

Lagorse, who the day before had been summoned from Fontainebleau to Paris, returned from that capital. The coincidence of both the above incidents immediately gave us reason to conjecture that something extraordinary was about to happen forthwith, and accordingly we all remained in a considerable state of suspense till dinner-time. However, when dinner was over, Colonel Lagorse, addressing himself to the cardinals present, particularly to Cardinal Mattei, Dean of the Sacred College, said, with an air of profound mystery, that he had the important intelligence to communicate to us of his having received orders to leave Fontainebleau the next day with the Pope, and escort his Holiness to Rome. We had little reason to doubt the first portion of Colonel Lagorse's story; nor was it at all improbable that the removal of the Pope was determined on, and that the very next day he would be actually carried away from a place of which in a few days more the armies of the allied troops would most likely have possession. But we did not believe that his Holiness would be conveyed to Rome, for the plain reason that Rome was no longer now in the power of Napoleon. Nevertheless the Colonel, pluming himself, as it were, upon the announcement he had made to us, added, with the expression of confidence and satisfaction of one who

has already made an agreeable impression on his hearers, assuming at the same time a more serious and somewhat vindictive countenance, "There are no new orders," said he, "relating to your Eminences; though all would now have been concluded to everybody's satisfaction had you behaved with more prudence and moderation." This unexpected and insulting remark called forth a brief reply from the Dean of the Sacred College, who observed, "that the cardinals' conduct deserved no such censure, nor could they with any degree of justice be accused either of want of moderation or of imprudence." While the Cardinal Dean was speaking, others of his colleagues, myself among the rest, immediately left the room, in order that we might apprize the Pope of what we had heard before Colonel Lagorse could himself announce to his Holiness the proposed journey. Accordingly we had already had the opportunity of suggesting to the Holy Father to insist strenuously on being accompanied by three, two, or even one cardinal only, provided he could obtain no more; when Colonel Lagorse entered the room and communicated to his Holiness the order for his departure the following morning. According to our advice, the Pope requested to be accompanied by three cardinals; afterwards he restricted his demand to two, and lastly to one

only; but Colonel Lagorse replied, that according to his instructions from the Government, nobody could be allowed to travel with his Holiness in his own carriage but Monsignor Bertazzoli, while the accompanying vehicles would be occupied by Colonel Lagorse, Doctor Porta, physician to his Holiness, and his Holiness's two attendants, Ilario Palmieri and Vincenzo Cotogni.

The next morning, the 23rd, the Pope, after he had heard mass, retired to his bedchamber, and had an audience with all the cardinals who at that time were residing in Fontainebleau. There the Holy Father, addressing us with a serene, I may almost say joyful expression of countenance, said, "that, on the point of being separated from us without knowing whither he was about to go, he felt the most extreme consolation at seeing us all assembled around him. He had called us together," he added, "in that apartment for the purpose of explaining to us his sentiments and intentions; feeling at the same time firmly persuaded, nor could he," he said, "think otherwise, that all his cardinals, whatever were their future lot, whether united, or dispersed anew in different parts of the country, would ever maintain a line of conduct suited to their character and dignity; he would nevertheless recommend to us, wheresoever we might be, to main-

tain and make manifest unceasingly a demeanour expressive of the sorrow that in truth we ought to feel under the calamitous circumstances of the Church, and the imprisonment of her Supreme Head. He had given," he said, "a paper of instructions, drawn up in his own hand-writing, to serve as a normal guide for the regulation of our conduct, to the Dean of the Sacred College, with a request to that dignitary of the purple to communicate the same to each of us." He then concluded by saying, that "having no doubt we should remain faithful to the oaths we had taken at our exaltation to the cardinalate, he expressly *commanded* us (a word that never before escaped his lips) never to listen a moment to any proposal for a treaty, whether relating to spiritual or to temporal affairs, for that such on this particular point was his absolute will."

Many of us were moved to tears at this address, to which one and all promised fidelity and obedience. The Pope then took a light dinner in the same chamber, eating very little, conversing with us all the time on indifferent subjects, and preserving the same serene expression of features that I remarked before. A few minutes after he had done dinner, the Holy Father, accompanied by us all, proceeded to the tribune of the palace chapel; there having pronounced a brief dis-

course, and bestowed benediction on a crowd of people who had assembled in the church, he thence descended into the quadrangle, and attended by Monsignor Bertazzoli, entered his travelling-carriage, whence, as the vehicle drove off amid the tears and sighs of the cardinals and standers-by, he gave us his paternal benediction. Being thoroughly for the moment overcome with sorrow, I retired for a few minutes into my own chamber; afterwards I went into the apartments of his Eminence the Dean, and obtained from him, in order that I might make a copy, the paper of instructions that had been prepared for us by the Pope. The paper, which his Eminence gave me immediately, was as follows:—

"Under the present circumstances of continually increasing uncertainty relative to the destiny of ourselves, and of our venerable brothers the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, we consider it expedient, while yet we may have the power, to prescribe to them a few such rules of conduct as may serve to meet the exigencies that may possibly arrive in days to come.

"I. Let them, in the first place, so far as it be in their power, keep near to ourselves; establishing their habitation wherever we may happen to reside, and

whenever that be not practicable, let them keep near one another, living together, or not far apart; thereby preventing by all the means in their power, the dispersion of their body in various and distant places, which state of things cannot fail on all accounts to be highly detrimental.

"II. In case of schism, let them most scrupulously abstain from holding communication in religious matters with any schismatic, even though he be (which God forbid!) one of their own colleagues. And in addition to the above precautions in the hypothetical case of schism, if they should ever chance to be in a diocese where a prelate, without being regularly instituted by an apostolical Bull, exercises episcopal jurisdiction as administrator, capitular vicar, or under any other title, in opposition to the sacred canons and the prohibitions contained in our two briefs to the Cardinal Maury and to the Chapter of Florence; let them abstain from attending the offices performed in his church, and on no other occasion whatever let them by their presence sanction such an irregularity, and thereby inflict scandal on the faithful.

"III. Let them abstain from attending any religious ceremonial, whether performed in a church or elsewhere, relative to the so-called King of Rome; and,

generally speaking, let them abstain from the performance of any act whatever that may bear the appearance of recognition and tacit consent to the pretended sovereignty of the Emperor and his successors over the States of the Church.

"IV. Let them not accept, without our special permission, any order, decoration, post, dignity, charge, or secular office of any description; the same to be observed of nominations to archbishoprics, bishoprics, the office of almoner, or any other dignity, title, or prebend.

"V. Since the circumstances under which the Church and the Holy Apostolic See are placed, by the imprisonment of their Supreme Head, especially require of the cardinals a line of conduct adapted to a time of mourning, to the end that it may be seen by the world at large how deeply sensible they are of the importance of their duties, and how strongly impressed with affliction on account of the Church's misfortunes; let them consequently abstain, so long as such grave causes continue to exist, from frequenting public places, great assemblies, dinners, and, generally speaking, from all such social intercourse, as on occasions of grief and mourning in private families is prohibited. For the same reason, let them abstain from appearing at any

ceremony indicative of public rejoicing, no matter what the object, such as the celebration of the Te Deum, &c.; and let them also abstain, after having performed the first act of etiquette, from appearing at court, or mixing in the court circles; since they have just reason to excuse themselves, not less on account of the above cited reflections, than by our express prohibition.

"VI. Finally, taking into consideration that the prohibition to our cardinals to accept from the Government any appointment or allowance, is rendered the more necessary by the Senatus-Consultum, which in proclaiming the union of the dominions of the Holy See with the French empire, declares the revenue of the cardinals to be *Imperial* expenses; it is our will accordingly that our cardinals rigidly abstain from such acceptance; not doubting, neither do our cardinals we feel certain doubt themselves, the assistance of Divine Providence, which surely in time of need will come to their succour."

When the Pope was gone, several of the cardinals were of opinion that we ought at once to leave the palace, and remove to private houses in the city; the majority, however, were of a different opinion, and finally it was determined unanimously to make a com-

munication to the custode of the palace to the effect that we desired to be informed, having been placed in the royal residence, with the Emperor's permission, for the purpose of bearing the Holy Father company, and rendering him our assistance, what were the intentions of the Government with regard to us now that his Holiness resided there no longer. Above all, we were anxious to know whether any orders on the subject had been issued by the Government. The custode replied, that orders would arrive from Paris before the expiration of three days; and, in fact, precisely on the evening of the 26th, there arrived from Paris an officer of the Etat-Major, belonging, if I mistake not, to the gendarmerie, who brought an order from the Government, directing all the sixteen cardinals, who were in Fontainebleau, to depart within four successive days; four cardinals every day, at four different hours, so as not to fall in with one another on the road; and further stating that each individual cardinal would be escorted by an officer of gendarmerie, who would inform him of the place of his destination. The Cardinals Mattei, Dugnani, Della Somaglia, and myself immediately proposed to depart the next day, which arrangement—I being desirous that my three colleagues, who were senior cardinals to myself, should

precede me—rendered the hour of my departure rather late.

On the morning of the 27th the Quarter-master, Monsieur Lepine, called upon me, and told me that having been appointed to accompany me on the journey, he would wait upon me, if I remember right, he said, at three o'clock in the afternoon, when we were to take our departure. At the hour appointed, however, Monsieur Lepine presented himself punctually; and without more delay, after taking leave of my colleagues, not without the cost of some tears, I got into the carriage with my chamberlain; Monsieur Lepine and my servant mounted the seat outside, and we departed. When we had proceeded about half a mile out of the town, Monsieur Lepine gave me the two following letters, one from the Minister of Police, and the other from the Minister des Cultes. The first, from the Minister of Police, was as follows:—

"*Paris*, 25*th January*, 1814.

"MR. CARDINAL,

"In conformity with orders I have received relating to your Eminence, your Eminence must proceed, as soon as possible, in the most strict incognito, to Uzès, in the department of Gard. The person

who will present you this letter is Monsieur Lepine, an officer of the Imperial gendarmerie of Paris, who has been directed to accompany your Eminence the whole distance to Uzès, and to comply with your Eminence's wishes to the utmost of his power, within the compass of his instructions. I have given notice of your Eminence's arrival to the authorities of Uzès, who, I am persuaded, will conjointly have much satisfaction in doing all they can to render your residence there agreeable. I profit by the present occasion to offer your Eminence the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) "LE DUC DE ROVIGO.

"*To his Eminence the Cardinal Pacca.*"

With regard to the above letter, and with particular reference to the degree of sincerity and affection for my person that induced the Duc de Rovigo to tell me he had written to the magistrates of Uzès, in order to announce my arrival, and, through their kind offices, render my residence there agreeable, it may not be amiss to contrast another letter, written by the same personage at the same time, to the sous-préfet of Uzès. This letter the above-mentioned functionary subsequently, after the abdication of Napoleon, when I was

restored to full liberty, gave me to read confidentially. It was given him by the Quarter-master Lepine on my arrival, who received it from the Duc de Rovigo. I read it with the deepest attention, with the express object of committing the contents to memory, and so soon as I returned to my dwelling I put it in writing as follows :—

"This letter will be presented to you by Monsieur Lepine, an officer of the Imperial gendarmerie, who will conduct the Cardinal Pacca to Uzès, where he is enjoined to reside. You are desired to watch him most vigilantly, and find out, by means of persons of his family or of the house where he is lodged, how he conducts himself, what are the subjects of his conversation, with whom he has communication or dealings of any sort, to whom he writes, and from whom he receives letters. You will give me information of all these particulars; and you will also apprize the Commissary of Police of these instructions, in order that he may comply with them in like manner with yourself; and tell him that, in case I hear from yourself a report of his failure, he will be immediately dismissed from his office. Do not allow the Cardinal to officiate in public, and look well to his transactions with the priests, which, under the present state of things, may

be extremely dangerous. Do what you can to frighten him, and tell him plainly that, if he gives the least reason of dissatisfaction to the Government, he risks his personal liberty."

The other letter from the Minister des Cultes, above alluded to, was a circular to all of us, and consequently given to myself and colleagues, who departed the first day, notwithstanding it was written for the exclusive purpose of meeting the possible contingency of one or other of us refusing to leave Fontainebleau, whence the Government was especially desirous to remove us on the approach of the allied armies, for fear the enemy might set us at liberty. In the present instance, as we departed without hesitation, it was useless, though Monsieur Lepine, as I said before, gave it me. It was as follows:—

"*Private Office of the Minister des Cultes,*
"*Paris, 21st of January,* 1814.

"MR. CARDINAL,

"I have the honour to acquaint you that his Excellency the Minister of General Police is directed to announce to you certain orders that must be carried into immediate execution. As it will be out of my power to listen to any appeal, a request of delay

on your part will be therefore useless; by your submission you will give a new proof of your respect for the orders of your sovereign.

"Receive, Mr. Cardinal, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) "The Minister des Cultes,

"LE COMTE BIGOT DE PRÉMENEU.

"*To his Eminence Mr. Cardinal Pacca.*"

So soon as I discovered that the Episcopal city of Uzès was destined to be the place of my residence I immediately took heart, for I had entertained a reasonable apprehension that, in consequence of the revocation of the Concordat, I should have been imprisoned in some French fortress. My mind, therefore, was tranquil as I pursued my journey, which, notwithstanding we travelled with post-horses, lasted fifteen days; for the Government were desirous of keeping the Pope and the cardinals at a distance from those parts of the country where the armies of the Allies were now making exceedingly rapid progress. Consequently, in transporting his Holiness to Savona and ourselves to different cities in Lower Languedoc and Provence, we made long circuits through the Orléanois, Limousin, and Quercy, extending within sight of the Pyrenees,

## CHAPTER XVI.

Journey from Fontainebleau to Uzès in Languedoc.

THE first night, as it was late when we started, we were obliged to stop at Malesherbes, a village a few leagues distant. Monsieur Lepine obliged us to put up at a small public-house instead of the principal inn, where his Eminence Cardinal Somaglia was lodged, in consequence of having been unable, from want of post-horses, to proceed further on his journey. The country about Malesherbes was, I believe, formerly a feudal tenure of the family of Lamoignon, so celebrated in the history of the French magistracy and of the Parliaments. Guillaume Chrétienne de Lamoignon Malesherbes was the personage who may be said to have paved the way for the French revolution of our times, having, in different public offices that he fulfilled, with a view to the interests of the revenue, given general encouragement to the press, and particularly the printing the various irreligious works with which at the end of the eighteenth century the unhappy country and all Europe were inundated. Subsequently

he himself suffered the penalty of his financial speculation; and after having in some degree redeemed his character and removed the stain of past errors, by defending and rendering assistance to his unfortunate Sovereign, Louis XVI., fell a victim to Philosophic fury.

On the 28th of January we arrived about noon at Pithiviers, a small city of the Orléanois, where we waited an hour or thereabouts for horses. Among the crowd of people assembled in the square in which the posthouse is situated, I observed a great many with red cockades in their hats. Asking a Frenchman who stood near the carriage-door whether they were Spanish prisoners, he replied in the negative; to which I rejoined, that the cockades above alluded to were those of the Spanish nation. He then informed me that the red cockade was the distinguishing mark of those soldiers who, having taken the oath of allegiance to King Joseph Bonaparte, lived upon a pension paid them by the government. I remember that not one of these men came near my carriage, and that all, with a mortified expression of countenance, kept themselves at a distance, as if conscious that, to a cardinal, their presence was not over agreeable.

We arrived at Orleans late at night. The officer of

gendarmerie stopped the carriage at the door of a house that had the appearance of a shabby tavern, where he told me we were to remain till morning. Ascending the small staircase, he asked a woman who preceded us whether the chambers were good; to which she replied, "The rooms are not brilliant, but clean;" and so, in fact, they were—several in number, very small, with no appearance of luxurious comfort, but very strikingly neat and elegant. Three maid-servants, dressed with great propriety, got ready the bed very speedily after serving supper on a table exquisitely polished. The viands, that required little time to wait for, were simple but well cooked, and altogether I could not help drawing a comparison in my mind between the tavern I was in and some of our country inns in Italy, where the furniture of the rooms, the table-cloth, sheets, and food that the traveller meets with, as well as the persons by whom he is waited upon, are alike disagreeable to the senses, and in appearance such as one is only too happy to be rid of as soon as possible.

The next morning I saw in a square, as we were leaving Orleans, the statue of Joan of Arc, commonly called the Maid of Orleans, so celebrated in the history of France. On passing it I could not refrain from

saying to Monsieur Lepine, "You will soon require another brave, enterprising peasant girl like Joan of Arc, to drive the allied troops out of your territory." Monsieur Lepine, understanding the sarcasm, answered coldly, "Very true." As we went along I also remarked a beautiful, magnificent bridge over the Loire. About one o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at a little village called Mothe Beuvron, where we were obliged to remain waiting for horses at a very small inn. Having ascended a narrow wooden staircase they conducted me into a small room, containing no more furniture than an exceedingly small bed, a small table, and two or three chairs. Small as everything was, however, in this same room Colonel Lagorse compelled the Pope, three nights before, to sleep; for he very sagaciously avoided passing the night in large populous towns in consequence of the great concourse of people who, in such places, so soon as they heard of the arrival of his Holiness, assembled together from all parts of the vicinity. On the night of the 30th we slept in a little village called Vatan, not far from Château Roux, in the archiepiscopate of Bourges; the night afterwards we stopped in a village called Le Foy.

On the 1st of February we arrived late at night at

Limoges, where we were obliged to put up in a low public-house, in consequence of all the best inns in the city being full of officers returning with the French troops from the army in Spain. We had scarcely arrived, when, much to my satisfaction, and with no little surprise, I was told by Monsieur Lepine that, as the next day was the festival of the Madonna della Candelora,[1] he would take care to give me an opportunity of hearing mass previous to departure; and so saying, he immediately went to apprise the parish priest of the nearest parochial church of my arrival. Early next morning I was waited on, not by the parish priest himself, who happened to be sick, but by another priest, who came instead of the other to accompany me to the church; as we went thither, so soon as the people saw me enter the street that led to it, they began to ring the bells in such a manner that a great concourse of persons very speedily flocked together notwithstanding the early hour of the day. In the church there was prepared for me, at the foot of the high altar, a kneeling cushion covered with damask, with two large candlesticks, one at each side. During the celebration of the mass the bishop arrived, and with him a sufficient number of people to fill the building.

[1] Candlemas day.

When mass was over the bishop accosted me in a complimentary manner, and a priest came up to me and requested me in the name of the people to give them benediction. In answer to the request I pointed with my finger to the bishop, saying at the same time, "There is your pastor, whom you should ask for benediction; in this congregation I am but a simple sheep." Having so said, the bishop then united his own request to the request of the priest: upon which I said in a tone of voice purposely to be distinctly heard by the persons near me, "With your pastor's permission I give you benediction;" then raising my hand in the usual manner, I gave blessing to all the people assembled. Finally, I left the church in company with the bishop, and, followed by the greater portion of the persons present, returned to my inn, where I was delayed some time blessing chaplets of flowers, and receiving a multitude of persons who had collected together for the purpose of kissing my hand. I had much pleasure in conversing with the bishop, Monsignor Dubourg, a worthy prelate, who, nominated by Bonaparte by virtue of the Concordat of 1801, had nevertheless ever remained staunch to the true maxims of the Church, had led a religious, edifying life, and had resided continually in his diocese, which in the days of the kings was a rare

thing to do, according to Boileau, who, in order to prove the inutility of a certain discourse, politely observes, "C'est aux prélats de la cour prêcher la résidence."[1]

Leaving Limoges, we continued our journey to a little village called Massère, where we passed the night. On the 3rd of February, the day after, we arrived at one or two o'clock in the afternoon at Brives, a moderate-sized city of Limousin, whence we proceeded no further that day in order to avoid encountering a corps of French troops, who were coming towards Paris on their march from Spain. The Pope, three or four evenings before, having passed the night in the inn where we stopped, the people of the house immediately conducted me to the chamber where the Holy Father slept, which they had already named "la chambre du Pape." Very soon after my arrival I had a visit from the parish priest, a member of a distinguished family of Cognac, that at different periods has furnished one cardinal and several bishops to our hierarchy, including one bishop who I have been informed was recently nominated to an episcopal see by the King. After the first usual compliments were over, my visitor asked my name,

[1] It is for the prelates of the court to preach residence.

when I told him I was Cardinal Pacca, he showed evident marks of gratification, changing at once the tenor of his language to a more confidential tone. He then immediately proceeded, with an air of extraordinary anxiety, to inquire if there were any chance of seeing a Prince of the house of Bourbon re-established on the throne; and when I replied, that up to the present moment the allied powers had shown no indication of a decided intention on their own part to restore the kingdom to the Bourbons, I remarked that his countenance became dejected.

I must here observe, that this parish priest was the first of the few persons in the country who in conversation manifested to me any desire at all for the return of the royal family. Those authors, in fact, who write to suit times and circumstances are therefore at liberty to affirm on my authority, that at the period when I entered France I really did imagine, to my infinite regret, that among the French people the love for the family of their ancient sovereigns was nearly exhausted in the hearts of the great majority; and they may say further that I attributed the state of feeling then existing on the subject to the following causes.

For a period of more than twenty years, while the Princes of the royal family were compelled to seek the

safety of their lives by abandoning their own country, every public newspaper in France, sold to the revolutionary anti-Bourbon party, had done their utmost to represent them under an aspect calculated to excite the national feeling in their disfavour; every misfortune that, under any manner of circumstances, had recently happened to the country was attributed to the Bourbons, the Bourbons were even handed down to posterity as the real authors and originators of the revolution. Such naturally became the prejudices against the royal house among all the youth in the kingdom, while persons of more mature age, those who preserved and kept alive for a while their affection towards their ancient sovereigns, finding that they made no attempt themselves to remount the throne of their ancestors—a state of submission to which they were compelled not by their own fault, but owing to the political state of Europe—persons of more mature age, I say, growing cool by degrees at first, afterwards by little and little habituated themselves to the reigning dynasty. True it is that the recollection still was fresh in Europe, especially in France, of the daring, generous attempts perpetrated by the last of the Stuarts to regain the throne of his grandfather; nor had the enterprise of the good Harry the Fourth, who, at the head of his faithful subjects, conquered with his armies the

kingdom which, though it belonged to him by right of birth, had vanished from the eyes of Frenchmen. Such, notwithstanding, was the inaction of crowned heads, and for so many years continued, though without blame to themselves, as I before observed, that even in the hearts of those who detested the government of Bonaparte, the spirit of loyalty to their King had become almost extinguished. Nay, the individual misfortunes of royalty excited callous contempt, instead of moving compassion, nor could the national pride brook the thought of summoning to the throne, or of acknowledging at all in the quality of French Princes, unfortunate exiles, who. whithersoever they went, were little regarded, were everywhere tolerated rather than well received, and were universally liable to be set adrift at the caprice of the Government that afforded them refuge.

On the other hand, notwithstanding that under the government of Bonaparte the excessive amount of customs and the terrible laws of military conscription excited a considerable feeling of discontent and oppressed the people beyond measure, his military enterprises in foreign countries so flattered the pride and vanity of the nation, that they partly forgot, or, at all events, ceased to feel the whole weight of their sufferings. How exciting was the announcement, for in-

stance, nearly every week, of the incredible marches and rapid progress of their armies—of signal victories that, in the space of a single day, changed the fortunes of kingdoms—of the triumphant entry of their sovereign into the capitals of the most powerful potentates—of the advantageous treaties of peace concluded—of the acquirement and reunion to France of vast fertile provinces—of the creation and crowning by Bonaparte of new kings, as in the days of the ancient Roman Senate and the Cæsars—of the transport from Italy, Germany, and Flanders of the most esteemed monuments of the fine arts, even those of Greece and Rome, that had outlived the lapse of centuries and the fury of barbarians! All these things, sufficient indeed to raise the pride of any people or government whatever, could therefore hardly fail to flatter, as I said before, the pride and vanity of a people such as the French, who are not only naturally addicted to glory, but ever ambitious to outshine and outdo every other nation.

The next day, being the 4th of the month, we left Brives, and late at night arrived at Cahors. On the road we met a considerable corps of the French army on their return from Spain, travelling, as it was called, *by the post;* which mode of locomotion was performed in the following manner. Several hundred bullock-

cars, each drawn by a couple of oxen, being stationed at distances a few leagues apart, these cars, each provided with a quantity of loose straw and a straw cover-lid, served for the accommodation of those soldiers who, becoming weary and exhausted on the march, were permitted to rest themselves occasionally; by which expedient the troops were enabled to continue their progress without halting by night or by day. In my opinion, however, the rate of progress was not in the end much accelerated by the manœuvre, for the state of suffering of many of the soldiers who got upon the cars was so great, that the degree of ease and relief to be obtained on such a description of vehicle was insufficient to restore their strength; and they must necessarily, ere long, have been allowed at least a few hours' repose in some town or village. Ingenious, moreover, as was this device of Bonaparte, it was, at all events, a grievous drain upon the population, and pressed particularly hard upon the miserable cultivators of the soil, who were not only obliged to conduct the cars with the oxen along the main turnpike roads, but lost several days' work into the bargain in waiting the arrival of the troops at the place of destination. Besides, their cattle were miserably abused by the soldiers, who had so little regard to the poor animals that the unfortunate peasants

, as they went along were weeping and shuddering with fear lest their beasts, succumbing under the extraordinary degree of fatigue, should die outright. Some uttered loud curses against the government; while others, I shall never forget, on seeing me pass by, and hoping I might be able to render them some service, came up to my carriage and supplicated me, with tears in their eyes, to intercede for them. Nothing, alas! was in my power but to raise my shoulders, and casting towards them looks of commiseration, endeavour to make them understand that, though I was unable to afford them any manner of succour, I could compassionate their condition.

The next morning we left Cahors, having the day before entered Languedoc, the finest province I have seen in France, which, as well on account of the mildness of the climate as the frequency of its cities, situated at little distances apart from one another, reminded me of my native Italy. Before nightfall we arrived at Montauban, which bears a fair comparison among the larger cities of the Province, and is celebrated in the history of Calvinism and of the civil wars of France. I had a visit from the parish priest of the neighbouring church, and also from some Spanish ecclesiastics who were living at Montauban in a state of deportation. I learned

from them that the Cardinal Della Somaglia had arrived the same morning with an officer of the gendarmerie, who conducted him to another inn in the town. I also was informed that the Cardinal had notified to the parish priest above mentioned that the next morning, before day-break, he would attend the parish church and hear the mass celebrated by his secretary, D. Bernardo Bianchi. I therefore requested the parish priest to be so kind as to let me know in the morning when my colleague arrived at his church, in order that I also might hear mass previous to setting out on my journey.

The next morning I arose before the first white streaks of daylight, and hastening to the church so soon as I received the expected notice from the parish priest, I was gratified by an affecting spectacle. Notwithstanding the streets of the city were still enveloped in darkness, and the weather was bitterly cold, the simple intelligence that two Cardinals were about to hear the mass, was sufficient to attract a large concourse of people, who had already flocked together and completely filled the church. The high altar was beautifully illuminated, and two kneeling cushions covered with damask were placed in front of it—one for Cardinal Somaglia, and the other for myself; to which we

were each respectively conducted by the parish priest and another ecclesiastic. When the mass was finished, the parish priest, dressed in surplice and stole, turning towards Cardinal Somaglia and myself, made us a short address, concluding with a request to the effect, as well as I am able to remember, that, "as a few days before the city of Montauban had the good fortune and high honour of receiving—brief as was the period—within her walls and of welcoming, with the acclamations of its entire population, the Supreme Head of the Church, we would make known to his Holiness their filial devotion and their sincere attachment to the chair of S. Peter." To the above address Cardinal Somaglia replied, in his own and in my name, thanking them, in exceedingly pure, elegant French, for their religious sentiments, which, he said, would certainly, when faithfully related to the Holy Father as he would relate them, afford his Holiness much consolation.

I then took leave of my colleague, and returning to my inn, accompanied by several of the persons who were in the church, left Montauban, and continued my journey. About mid-day we arrived at Toulouse. The moment I got out of the carriage at the inn I requested the landlord to procure me a guide to the spot where the body of S. Thomas d'Aquinas reposes; and

accordingly, accompanied by the guide and my chamberlain, I walked immediately to the church of S. Saturnine, whither that sacred deposit was removed during the revolution. Previously it was deposited in the church dedicated to the Saint himself, which was then suppressed and converted to other uses. On the way I had a view of the very beautiful bridge over the Garonne that leads to a public walk, which appeared to me very beautiful and agreeable. His Eminence the Cardinal Della Somaglia had arrived at the church of S. Saturnine a little before me; and there was a great movement among the people, who, having observed two Cardinals on their way along the streets, had very speedily assembled. The ecclesiastics belonging to the church were also in their places; and some of them, dressed in their surplices, accompanied us into the very small, dark, subterraneous chapel that contains the mortal remains of the Angelic Doctor. One of the ecclesiastics delivered a brief discourse; after which we ascended into the church, where we inspected various other venerated reliques. Meanwhile the concourse of people in the church had increased to an extraordinary degree, insomuch that we could scarcely make a passage through the crowd, who all, filled with the deepest sentiment of veneration towards us, falling on their knees, and

some of those the nearest launching themselves forwards with the usual vivacity of their nation, in order to kiss our hands: such a throng and press was consequently created, that we ran the risk of being suffocated and crushed in pieces, and were not able to get out of the church at all without a great deal of trouble. Returning from the church I saw an edifice called the *Capitole*, which by no means corresponds in appearance with its great name; I had, however, but little time to observe it, for retreating to my inn in order to get rid of the crowd that followed me, I passed it very quickly.

After I arrived at the inn, I received a visit from the rector of the Archiepiscopal Seminary, whom I had met on the way to the church. So far as I was able to judge from the short conversation I had with him, he appeared to be a well-informed, well-intentioned person; though he told me, if I mistake not, that he was a Sulpician, or, at least, a disciple of the Sulpicians. The communication surprised me not a little to find that the government of the Seminary was entrusted to him by the archiepiscopal primate, a constitutional prelate, intruded previous to the Concordat of 1801, who had obtained canonical institution of the Legate Cardinal Caprara surreptitiously, and never

afterwards conformed to the Apostolic bulls. Subsequently, while I was at Uzès, I learnt that the episcopal seminary at Avignon also had for its rector an ecclesiastic whose doctrine was pure and healthy, though he himself had been nominated by the Bishop Perière, a prelate originally constitutional, intruded, like the primate above-mentioned, and even more tenacious of the errors of the civil constitution of the clergy which was proscribed by the Pope than the primate himself. He had been, moreover, disobedient to the legate and the Holy See ever since he received canonical institution. From the two above-mentioned facts I may, at least, be allowed to draw a very consoling conclusion: for it indeed appeared evident that the Almighty, notwithstanding during the exercise of his well-merited wrath he had permitted the two vast dioceses of Toulouse and Avignon to be ruled over by pastors—if, indeed, they merited the name at all—both hirelings of the irreligious party and deeply drenched in schismatic, heretical maxims, now casting an eye of pity on the people, and preparing for the Church a more serene and tranquil season, would not, nevertheless, suffer men animated and moved as these pastors were by the spirit of sect and party, to poison the fountains destined to pour forth to young men

dedicated to the sanctuary their first principles of religion and moral doctrine.

The rector of the Archiepiscopal Seminary was accompanied by one or two of the priests professors, and some of the scholars, to all of whom conjointly I addressed a few words: telling them "that I very clearly foresaw that the friends of the Church would soon see more quiet, happy days; and recommending them to preserve the same sentiments of respect and devotion for the Pope and the Holy See that they had demonstrated to myself: which sentiments, I said, were the only secure guide against error in the sad, turbulent times in which we lived, and such as would direct their judgment, as in the days of Solomon of old, to discover in the Roman Church the true mother of all the faithful." So soon as I had finished, they all prostrated themselves on the ground, and, remaining in an attitude of the deepest veneration, requested my benediction, which I gave them accordingly.

The next day, the 7th, I left Toulouse, and arrived at a late hour of the night at Castelnaudary. It was very dark when I alighted from the carriage at the hotel, nevertheless there was a great crowd of people upon the stairs and about the door waiting my arrival,

for the purpose of receiving benediction, including one of the professors of the Seminary of Toulouse, who, not having been able to attend for the same object the evening before, had come all the way hither on purpose. I had also a visit from some ladies of the country, who, in relating the consolation they had experienced by kissing the Pope's foot on the occasion of his passing through the city, complained to me at the same time of the difficulty they had to be introduced into his Holiness's presence. Colonel Lagorse, they said, did all in his power to prevent their presentation, and was so much out of temper at seeing the Holy Father well received and venerated wherever he went, that he even, in one particular instance, permitted an official to box a lady's ears.[1]

I left Castelnaudary in the morning of the 8th, and in the evening arrived at Narbonne, where I was immediately waited upon by the parish priest, belonging, as I understood when he was announced, to the ancient cathedral. After showing me the common usages of politeness and respect, he asked me my name, and no sooner had I answered "I am the Cardinal Pacca," than he immediately exclaimed, "Oh, how

[1] Si era perfino fatto lecito di schiaffegiare una signora.

illustrious is that name in the festivals of the Church! A name dear to good Catholics! Permit me, Monsieur le Cardinal," he continued, "to bring hither my family to receive your benediction." In fact, away he went, and very shortly afterwards returned with several persons of different sexes and different ages, to whom, being presented to me as his relatives, I gave, as he desired, my benediction. Some other ecclesiastics of the city came also and paid me a visit. I state these minute circumstances, these slender records of my journey, not for the purpose of pompously displaying the individual demonstrations of veneration I received in various cities and from many of the clergy, but in order to lay before the public, as a simple matter of fact, the circumstance that there existed in France, even in those calamitous times, a number, by no means inconsiderable, of zealous Catholics, who were sincerely attached to the Holy See and its persecuted ministers. Almost every one of my colleagues, when returning from their place of deportation, experienced a similar reception and received similar marks of veneration on passing through Provence and Languedoc; so that even if the surname of Pacca actually did excite at first a greater sentiment of curiosity and anxiety than many others, the preference, instead of being attributable to

my own particular merit, is to be ascribed to the ineffable courage of those worthy men, who, in the teeth of the severest prohibitions of the Government, dared to print in various places and scatter abroad over France several documents and ministerial notes, which, issued by myself in quality of Pro-Secretary of State, bore my signature.

At all events, judging by what I relate as having happened to myself and to my colleagues, the fervency of the general movement that took place among the people, and the extraordinary demonstrations of veneration and joy that were shown to the Pope during his passage through the provinces of France, may be readily comprehended. The following anecdote, for example, which I heard related at Uzès, and afterwards confirmed in Rome by Pius the Seventh himself, will serve for a specimen. The Pope was passing across the Rhone by the bridge of boats that stretches across between Beaucaire and Tarascon, and the population of both cities were vying with each other in their endeavours to show by applause and acclamations their deep sense of joy, devotion, and affection; when Colonel Lagorse, foaming at the mouth, and almost roaring with anger,[1]

[1] Fremeva di rabbia, e quasi ruggiva.

had the rashness to exclaim to the people in a loud voice, "I wonder what you 'd do if it were the Emperor!" Upon which the by-standers, as if with one accord, pointing to the Rhone, said in reply, "Give it him to drink," meaning that they would pitch him into the river. The Colonel grew outrageous, and was proceeding to menaces, till he was addressed by one of the populace as follows: "What now! it 's you that want a drink, do you?"

The following night I arrived at a very late hour in Montpellier. On the morning of the 10th, not having had an opportunity to have conversation with any person in the city, we departed early and arrived at Nismes before noon. Hence a road to Uzès, which is not many leagues distant, branches from the main highway, and leads towards the mountains called the Cévennes, so famous in the history of Calvinism. In consequence of being fatigued and harassed by fifteen days' successive travelling from Fontainebleau hither, and being impatient to become acquainted with the town destined for my place of residence, I had no sooner taken a little refreshment at the inn than I felt desirous of proceeding immediately to Uzès, notwithstanding several ecclesiastics had already come to visit me, and were earnest in their endeavours to per-

suade me to stay at least the whole of the day, in order to visit the remains of the ancient Roman ruins, reliques of the best days of the empire, that reasonably claim the attention of the enlightened traveller.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Residence at Uzès.

I ARRIVED at Uzès in the afternoon, my carriage entangled among a great number of bullock-cars and a large body of troops on their march from Spain. The news of the arrival of a Cardinal in this little city was so extraordinary a circumstance, that it was no sooner known in the place than off-hand, as is the expression, and while Monsieur Lepine had gone to the Sous-Préfet with the letter from the Minister of the General Police in Paris, announcing the orders of the Government relating to my person, the parish priest, accompanied by several other ecclesiastics, came to pay me their compliments. The Sous-Préfet, Monsieur Arnaud de Valabry, the moment he received the letter, presented himself also, and after having made his bow, turning towards the clergymen above-mentioned, and addressing them with somewhat of a serious expression of countenance, "Gentlemen," said he, "I wish to speak to the Cardinal alone, and I request you will

retire." My visitors having accordingly left the room, full of surprise and mortification, the Sous-Préfet, showing much politeness and urbanity in his behaviour, commenced our interview as follows:—"I have received," said he, "Monsieur le Cardinal, from the officer of gendarmerie who has conducted your Eminence hither, a letter from the Minister of Police, announcing to me that this city is destined to be the place of your Eminence's residence; at the same time I have been charged to keep a watch on your Eminence's person, to observe your conduct, and to render to the Government a strict account of every particular. For which reason, Monsieur le Cardinal, I trust you will behave with the greatest circumspection and prudence." I thanked Monsieur Arnaud de Valabry for having communicated to me the orders of his Government, and begged him especially to point out the particular precautions necessary to be taken on my part in order to avoid giving umbrage and suspicion to the Government, or committing myself in any other respect. Monsieur de Valabry replied, continually preserving the most respectful demeanour, "Your Eminence must abstain from attending public ceremonies in the churches, or appearing abroad too frequently in company with the ecclesiastics of the

country; neither should your Eminence permit ingress to many people into your own domestic chapel during the celebration of the mass." Monsieur de Valabry added, as it were to excuse himself after a manner for the above intimation, "that the Commissary of Police stationed in the town had also orders to watch my movements attentively, and farther, that a third portion of the inhabitants of Uzès being Calvinists, and irreconcilable enemies of the Catholics, had their eyes continually upon himself and the other Catholic magistrates, and provided they found the least possible opportunity of making a complaint would accuse them of a deviation from the orders of their sovereign."

The next morning the Maire, several ecclesiastics, and one or two of the judges of the country tribunals, came to visit me. The Sous-Préfet also came again, and told me that he had been at some trouble to look out for a house for me, more comfortable and convenient than the apartments I had taken at the inn. He would, he said, have offered me rooms in his own house, but he thought I should be better satisfied and placed in a condition of greater liberty in a lodging now vacant, that he had procured for me, in the Maison d'Amoureux, belonging to a conseiller of that name, judge of the Tribunal of Appeal, who resided at

Nismes. Monsieur de Valabry spoke highly of the family d'Amoureux, especially the female portion, to whose piety and religion my ecclesiastical visitors bore ample testimony, and I myself can now loudly proclaim their virtues as an ocular witness during the whole time I passed in that adorable family, whose merits I shall never be able to repay with all the encomiums they deserve.

After remaining three days in the inn, I removed to the Maison d'Amoureux, and established my residence on the first floor. On the floor above me were living Monsieur Félix d'Amoureux, brother of the master of the house, with his wife Elisabeth Lefèvre, and three little boys their children; also Melanie d'Amoureux, sister of Monsieur Félix. Elisabeth Lefèvre was a native of S. Domingo, where her family had some property; she was brought to France at an early age, and educated there; she was yet a young person, and though for some years the state of her health had been precarious, had preserved a good figure and complexion. Melanie d'Amoureux, who was still unmarried, had generally throughout the country acquired a serious, religious character, to which the whole tenor of her life most truly corresponded.

Uzès is a very small city in the Département du Gard,

in Lower Languedoc, situated upon high ground, a few leagues distant from Nismes, and, as before stated, near the celebrated Cévennes mountains. On entering it I at first sight felt a compression at my heart, in consequence of its very narrow, dark streets and the irregularity and unseemliness of the houses and edifices; we Italians, in fact, would scarcely dignify it with a higher title than a large village or a borough town. At the time in question it contained rather more than six thousand inhabitants, of whom a third portion followed the doctrines of Calvin, and were the monied people of the country, in consequence of having been always occupied in commercial pursuits, and not having, therefore, suffered the losses to which the noble Catholics of the city, who previous to the revolution possessed feudal and seignorial rights, were subjected. These Huguenots, who still preserve their ancient animosity and evil feeling towards the Catholics, frequently during the period of the revolution, encouraged and supported by the inhabitants of the banks of the Gardon and the mountaineers of the Cévennes, all of whom for the most part are also furious heretics, entirely overwhelmed the Catholic population, and either drove the priests out of the country or compelled them to betake themselves to concealment in the neighbouring

woods, to escape their fury. To myself, during the whole of my residence at Uzès, the Calvinists manifested neither ill-will nor aversion, notwithstanding the maire, previous to my departure for Italy, confessed to me that for the first few days after my arrival he had serious apprehensions on my account. He added, however, "that when they came to be informed of the circumstances of my imprisonment and the cause of my exile, they took a great fancy to me, and looked upon the resistance that during my administration I had shown to the orders of the almost omnipotent Napoleon as an unequivocal proof of a firm, courageous character." As regards the Catholic population, they still preserve their cathedral, an ancient building erected in the earliest ages of Christianity, though now reduced in rank from episcopal, which it maintained till the Concordat of 1801, to the title of a parish church, dedicated to S. Theodorite the Martyr; they also had the Church of S. Stephen, otherwise called *succursale*, or chapel of ease, and tributary, as it were, to the other. Meanwhile the church of the Frati minori had been converted to a temple of worship for the Huguenots.

The seventy days I passed in this city in a state of deportation were the most serene and perhaps the happiest days of my life; for, perfectly free from care

and relieved from the responsibilities of office, I was enabled to divide the hours of the day between the acts and exercises of religion, reading books on spiritual and canonical subjects, and the agreeable recreation of walking in the open air, and fulfilling engagements of social duty and politeness. True, as I just now said, on entering the city of Uzès I felt a compression at my heart at first sight of its narrow, dark streets and its irregular, unseemly looking houses, but, on the other hand, on further experience of the locality, I found generally among the inhabitants, especially the higher classes and those ecclesiastics with whom I had frequent intercourse, the characteristics of mental culture, such as I had seen exemplified in the instance of the family of the Maison d'Amoureux above referred to: particularly as regards the nobility of both sexes, they had had their education, if not in Paris, in the great cities of Nismes, Grenoble, and Lyons. Every day, as my hosts had transformed one of the chambers of my suite of apartments into a chapel, I celebrated the holy mass there, which was always attended by a great concourse of people, principally females, of whom several very frequently took occasion to approach the sacred altar. On Sundays and on other festivals I attended the morning divine

offices, and also vespers in the afternoon, at the parish church of S. Theodorite. On such occasions, notwithstanding I earnestly expressed my desire to be treated with no manner of distinction, in order that I might not afford the least shadow of a pretext to the Government for prohibiting my attendance at the churches, yet it was absolutely impossible to prevent the people from paying me marked attention. When I went to the parish church, for instance, no matter if I placed myself in one of the inferior seats of the choir, they not only instantly brought me cushions to kneel upon, but after I had frequented the church for a little time, they even raised a small canopy above the seat I was in the habit of occupying, whither during the singing of the mass they came to give me incense, showing me besides every other demonstration of respect and veneration. The degree of homage paid to me when I went to visit at private houses was even more remarkable. There the master of the house descended down into the street to receive me, while at the top of the staircase the mistress of the house waited on her knees to receive my benediction. When I took leave, the whole of the family dropped on their knees and begged me to bless them. The same acts of respect towards me were manifested by the persons

who came to visit me at the Maison d'Amoureux. When I returned from my walk, which I was in the habit of doing generally a little before sunset, the Maire and the Sous-Préfet frequently paid me a visit, after which, at about eight o'clock in the evening, I ascended the stairs to the floor above, where at that time Elisabeth d'Amoureux was invariably occupied in the education of her two eldest boys, whom she made repeat the lessons given them in the morning by their master, while Melanie retired to a little adjoining room to fulfil her devotions. With both these ladies, accompanied by another lady, their friend, who also resided in the house, I had generally an hour's agreeable conversation, in the course of which they related various circumstances that happened during the revolution, and repeated to me the news they had read the same day in the public papers, with reference not unfrequently to the literary works newly issued from the press—a topic that one can rarely enter upon with ladies of any other nation. On my part I described to them the magnificence of the Church ceremonies at Rome, with the account of which they were greatly delighted.

Belonging to the clergy of Uzès at the time in question, there were not at the most more than nine or ten

priests, with many of whom I lived on terms of familiar intimacy, and found them well-bred, well-educated persons. Indeed, though not then too highly prejudiced in favour of the French government, I had always a particular regard and esteem for the clergy of France, having almost invariably adopted the books of their ecclesiastics in my studies, and followed the maxims of their authors. Moreover, at a later period, since the French revolution, I had had occasion to know and have ecclesiastical business to transact with a great many of their bishops, as well as French prelates, refugees in different countries of Europe, where I was minister of the Holy See, so that I can say with perfect truth from the above experience, and in addition from further acquaintance obtained during my recent residence in France, that I have not only continually preserved the good opinion I originally formed of them, but that so far from being at all diminished it has, on the contrary, much increased. In fact, the churches of France have never at any period been unprovided with prelates of doctrine and conduct in the highest degree commendable,—nay, worthy occasionally of the first centuries of Christianity. Many, even in our own times, during the calamitous period of the revolution, distinguished themselves in such a manner as to

recall to the recollection their great predecessors Irenæus, Hilarius, and Martinus; though those who particularly impressed me with the deepest sense of esteem in favour of their body were the very many parish priests and vicars-general with whom in Germany, in Portugal, and in France, I became acquainted. Let it be said in peace, without meaning to give offence to the clergy of other nations, those of Italy not excepted, nations where I have also resided for considerable periods, that in my opinion the above-mentioned illustrious middle portion of the French clergy exceed them all put together, as well with regard to their theological education, as to the gift of eloquent language and evangelical style of preaching. In France, even in the parish churches, I have not unfrequently listened to sermons and discourses delivered in a genuine tone of judicious ecclesiastical eloquence, such as I have rarely witnessed in our own great churches, and from our best orators of Italy. The parish priests, that respectable portion of the French ecclesiastical establishment, whom formerly the proud prelates of the court called *le bas Clergé*,[1] have for a long period shown themselves less and less tenacious of Gallican principles, and have been

[1] The low clergy.

inclining in such a degree towards the so-called ultramontane doctrines, that had the French priests sojourned a longer time in Italy, or had we Italians lived a longer time in France, all differences of opinion between the clergy of both nations would have been entirely obliterated. In fact, the double movement of persecution inflicted upon both France and Italy, whereby the French priests were transported to Italy and the Italian to France, *vice versâ*, had produced in good truth, to make use of a familiar expression, a family reconciliation between the mother and her children. For a long time between the Italian and the French clergy there was a mutual bad understanding, that served to weaken the esteem that the one claims by right of the other; many of the Italian clergy, for instance, thought it incredible that it were possible to think and act aright in matters of Church discipline, and at the same time maintain, not only the well-known Four Articles of the Gallican Church, but also that Church's so-called liberty. But such persons had formed their opinions from the works of French authors infected with Jansenism, from the study of books written by French jurisconsults, and from the *arrêts*, or sentences of the Parliaments, where under sanction of the term *Gallican liberty* were uttered erroneous

schismatic principles and maxims, occasionally absolutely heretical; such, indeed, as are rejected by the moderate Gallicans in horror of the calumnious imputation. The French priests had neither then, nor have many of them even now, a correctly defined idea of that part of our Roman doctrine which they choose to call ultra-montane; for the philosophical writers, partly by sarcasms, and partly by placing under a disadvantageous and ridiculous point of view those of our opinions opposed to the Four Articles of the Gallican clergy, have succeeded in generally persuading them, those at least who have not themselves taken the pains to investigate the subject carefully, that our Roman doctrines are absurd, repugnant to good sense, and unreasonable, which sentence, uttered by Napoleon himself in his arrogant, soldier-like style, was echoed by his philosophic ministers.

In the course of the various conversations that I had in France with worthy ecclesiastics, I perceived that they attributed to us of the Roman clergy very exaggerated maxims relating to the primatical jurisdiction of the Pope, and that they were much surprised to hear me discourse on the subject in a manner that they evidently did not expect. I particularly remember, for example, a circumstance that happened one day

while I was taking a walk outside the walls of Uzès, and having arrived at a village called Monteran, had entered the house of the parish priest, whose character was highly spoken of. The worthy minister was at home at the time of my visit, and occupied from pure zeal alone, without view to self-interest, instructing in theology two young men destined for the ecclesiastical profession. After conversing with him for a while on indifferent matters, I turned the subject of our discourse to the affairs of the Church and her ministers, and had laid down but a few propositions when, to my surprise, he exclaimed, as if astonished, "Oh, how moderate you are in your views, Monsieur le Cardinal!" "No, Monsieur le Curé," said I, "the sentiments you hear me express are not my own exclusively, they are the true maxims of the Roman Church and the Roman clergy; and moreover, if you will only be at the pains to visit the Cardinal Mattei, Dean of the Sacred College, who is living at Alais, or the Cardinal Litta, who resides at Nismes, you will hear from the lips of both those noble dignitaries of the purple, and without having to go a great distance, the same sentiments you now hear from me." In other conversations that I had on various occasions with French ecclesiastics, I moreover discovered that even among those

who were the best educated, and the most deeply versed in the sacred sciences, there were many who had never read, even if they knew of the existence of, several excellent works that have issued from the press in Italy for the purpose of controverting the four propositions of the Gallican clergy. Several of my colleagues told me they had made the same observation, and had used their best endeavours to persuade those of the French clergy with whom they were in the habits of intercourse to read the writers above referred to; a hint that I have reason to know was attended with good effect. At all events, during the period of general deportation, the intercourse of Roman Cardinals and bishops with all classes of the French clergy mainly contributed to renew in that nation the ancient esteem and respect that in former times they entertained for the Italian, especially the Roman priesthood.

The so-called Court of Rome has certainly ever maintained a lofty reputation in the eyes of foreign nations; and is supposed—not without reason—to be composed of men not only pre-eminent for the depth of their learning, but remarkable for a rare ability and dexterity in the management of political affairs and negotiations to an extent that has sometimes, from their supposed astuteness, made them liable to the imputation of Machiavel-

ism. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that, although in our own times men of high merit are not found wanting among our cardinals and bishops, the profound consideration with which people formerly regarded the Roman court is considerably diminished, and still diminishes daily. Two circumstances have especially contributed to this result, namely, the journeys of two successive popes from Rome—that of Pius VI. to Vienna in 1782, and of Pius VII. to Paris in 1804, at Bonaparte's coronation. In both instances it is hardly possible to understand how both those pontiffs, when about to undertake long journeys to the courts of great emperors, for the purpose of negotiating on affairs of the deepest importance, could have forborne to see the necessity of selecting as a suite of persons to accompany them a cortége properly adapted to the occasion, suitable to their dignity, and conformable to the well-established reputation of the Roman court. Nevertheless, to say nothing of the selection of attendants made by Pius VI., which was bad enough; but particularly with regard to the arrangements contrived by Pius VII. with a like object; than the latter human imagination can scarcely conceive any less judicious. In the first place, notwithstanding they set out on the journey in the middle of winter, and had to

cross the Alps on their way to a country considerably northward, and much colder than Rome, the cardinals selected were for the most part men deeply stricken in years, many of whom had never passed the boundaries of the Ecclesiastical States in their lifetime; whence, consequently, it is not to be wondered at that, when arrived at the end of the journey, instead of being able to lend their aid to the Pope, they themselves, on the contrary, stood in extreme want of assistance. Moreover, helpless as these personages found themselves, they were subjected to the further embarrassment of being in a country of whose language they were, for the most part, profoundly ignorant, and many understood not a word. Even the illustrious Cardinals Antonelli, Borgia, and Di Pietro, as well as the Prelate Devoti, were merely competent to read the French language, but were unable to speak it, and there was scarcely one among them all qualified to sustain an argument in conversation with a Frenchman.

Then again, the capital in which they were was Paris, a city certainly not second to any other metropolis, where, before the eyes of all Europe, they stood exposed as upon a vast theatre, among the most grand and most dignified diplomatists of other nations, who were

collected together under circumstances of superlative pomp and solemnity for the coronation of the Emperor Napoleon. Such was the disadvantageous contrast under which they appeared on the occasion in question: a number of our most aged Roman prelates, persons in figure and appearance unprepossessing, and not only deficient in what the French call *bon ton*, but destitute of that degree of polish and agreeable bearing that society rigorously exacts from educated people in these days of civilization. So attended, Pius VII. might naturally have furnished matter for ridicule in any indifferent country, but he should especially have foreseen such a consequence on venturing among Parisians, whose vivacity and lightness of character prompt them to jest at everything, and seek every possible opportunity for displaying wit in lampoon and satire. To the supreme discredit of the reputation and the lustre of the Court of Rome, what might easily, and ought to, have been prevented, happened but too truly. The French, reasonably taking it for granted that the Pope, on the most important of all occasions—the coming to France for the coronation of the Emperor Napoleon—an event which must lead to the discussion of affairs of the very deepest importance—had selected for his diplomatic attendants

the most able, alert, and best-instructed persons that Rome could furnish; were, on the contrary, confronted, as it were, by an inert, inefficient deputation, whom Napoleon and his ministers, forming from those present a conjecture of the remainder, regarded as a sufficient specimen of the entire cardinalate, and thence formed an unjust estimate of our Ecclesiastical Administration; which erroneous opinion, if the sacrilegious project of spoliation of the States of the Church were not thence originated, tended, at least, in no slight degree, to accelerate the execution.

However, the deportation of cardinals, bishops, and prelates into France, including the most talented and meritorious, was the cause, as I said before, of rectifying misunderstandings, and of teaching the nation to know the value of the Italian clergy and the Sacred College. In addition to which advantage, by which both the French and the Italian clergy profited alike, the French clergy exclusively derived another benefit actually arising from their very persecution and the sacrilegious robbery of the church property in their country. Although belonging to the Church of France, there was always an abundance, as I said before, of prelates commendable alike for their learning and for their private conduct, it is a fact, nevertheless, that, during the reigns of their

last kings, especially the fatal regency at the minority of Louis XV., there were of French bishops not a few to be regarded as men seeking their own temporal benefit rather than walking in the ways of our Lord and Saviour: who, being continually selected from the most conspicuous and illustrious Parisian and provincial families, were provided, in addition to the exorbitant revenues of their episcopal table, with the fattest and richest of the abbeys and priories. The principal members of the aristocracy were bishops in some of the provinces, and, generally, all were regarded on the footing of magnates of the kingdom. Their human dignities, however, speedily caused them to forget the sacred duties of their pastoral ministry. Removing themselves far away from their dioceses to Paris and Versailles, and living there almost continually, frequenters of the court, and hangers-on at the minister's antechambers, they became, consequently, to such a degree deaf to the subject of remonstrance against their non-residence, that while the words of the counsellor fell on their ears like a voice in the desert, their perversity furnished a topic for the satire of Boileau, referred to in another place: "C'est aux Prélats de la cour prêcher la résidence." [1]

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[1] See page 288.

At the conclusion of the Concordat of 1801, Napoleon, then First Consul, determining to compel the bishops to complete their term of residence within their dioceses prescribed by the sacred canons, put an end to this grave disorder, as I myself can testify from observation on the occasion of my two journeys through France; when, in all the cities where there was an episcopal cathedral, I invariably found resident bishops, laudably occupied in the exercise of their ministry. They had no longer, it is true, any influence whatever in the temporal affairs of the State, and were not only not rich, as before the Revolution, but were rather what one might call actually paupers, existing, as they did, on an extremely slender salary, paid them by the Government. But their very condition of poverty and the humiliation consequent on their position, contrasted with their former power and lofty bearing, produced its good effect, and dried up at once the source of envious jealousy that previously the secular magistracy entertained towards them.

I could never have imagined, had I not been assured of the fact on unexceptionable authority, and read it in the works of French authors entitled to credit, the unworthy, unwarrantable manner in which the episcopal courts and tribunals were previously treated. Never, and in no other part of the world, whether in countries

orthodox or heterodox, among the Turks or elsewhere, was the episcopal dignity and authority so depressed, vilified, and trodden on as in France by the French parliaments. Not only did the secular magistracy meddle with the affairs of the Church even the most spiritual, but in case of the slightest opposition shown by the bishops to their interference, the holy pastors were forthwith hunted from their sees into banishment, and their property laid under sequestration. The pastoral staves of the ordinaries, such was the excess of sacrilege committed, were burnt by the hands of the common executioner; priests were compelled to administer the sacrament to persons under ecclesiastical prohibition, and even occasionally the consecrated Host was violently extracted from the tabernacle, and transported by an armed force of gendarmes with fixed bayonets to the houses of the excommunicated. Nevertheless the very magistrates, under whose authority these outrages were perpetrated, in delivering sentences and decisions from their judgment seat, were open-mouthed in their constant enunciation of the words "Liberty of the Gallican Church!" which they proclaimed continually and sonorously, as if it were on purpose to add sarcastic insult to their tyranny. Even the Abbé Fleury, a strenuous advocate of the principles of the Gallican Church and

its so-called liberty, has left to posterity the following record of his opinion on the subject in his own days. "Were any foreigner," says he, "zealous for the rights of the Church, and averse to flatter the temporal authorities, inclined to write a treatise on the state of servitude of the Gallican Church, want of materials would not be the cause of his failure in the undertaking." [1]

This notable state of liberty, of which, notwithstanding its questionable quality, several bishops have continually vaunted very pompously in their writings and discourses, reminds me of a circumstance that happened in September, 1793, when I chanced to be walking one morning in the town of Louvain, with the Count Fernando Nuñez, the late ambassador of Spain at the court of Paris, who had then retired into the Low Countries, and the Abbé de Vichi, now Bishop of Autun. As we were going along we met a party of French soldiers, about a hundred in number, who, having been taken prisoners by the Austrian General Beaulieu, were being conducted into Hungary. In appearance they were a miserable set of fellows, worn out with hunger

[1] "Si quelque étranger, zélé pour les droits de l'Eglise, et peu disposé à flatter les puissances temporelles, voulait faire un traité des servitudes de l'Eglise Gallicane, il ne manquerait pas de matière."—Nouveaux Opuscules de M. l'Abbé Fleury, Paris, 1807, p. 71.

and fatigue, harshly treated by their German escort, and the greater portion without shoes and stockings. The Count Nuñez entered into conversation with them, and after asking a few questions, addressing them in a tone rather of compassion than reproof: "For your own parts," said he, "you see to what a state you have brought yourselves, and, after all, what have you gained by your revolution?" Upon which one of the soldiers, throwing up his head, and with his right hand smartly pressing his cocked hat upon his crown, "Monsieur," he fiercely replied, "nous sommes libres."[1] "Libres!" repeated I in an under tone to myself, "truly you are a very pretty picture of liberty, precisely the liberty of the Gallican Church under the Jansenist parliaments!" In recent times, notwithstanding, Divine Providence has been pleased to permit, in accordance with the series of events that have happened in France, and have been the means of enabling Pius VII. ultimately to exercise acts of authoritative jurisdiction, such as never were attempted by the Roman pontiffs, his predecessors, either in Portugal, Spain, Italy, or even within their temporal dominions, that the aforesaid excess of pontifical power should be directed to the re-establishment

[1] Sir, we are free.

of the Gallican Church, and help to forward her approximation towards the centre of Catholic liberty. To Pius VII. she actually owes her existence, in spite of all the Purist priests may assert to the contrary.

With regard to the Purist priests, a particular opportunity was afforded me while I resided in Uzès, of corroborating the opinion I had previously formed of their party spirit and fanaticism. A Purist priest, a short time before I arrived there, happened to be passing through the city a prisoner, on his way from the fortress of Pierre Châtel, where he had been previously confined, to another fortress farther removed from the frontier, whither he was being conducted, in consequence of the imminent probability of an invasion by the allied powers. Several pious young men of the city having gone immediately to visit their brother in his affliction, he took occasion in the course of conversation to represent to them, to their great grief and disturbance of spirit, "That the Bishop of Avignon," within which diocese Uzès was then comprehended, a prelate nominated by Napoleon; by virtue of the Concordat of 1801, and confirmed by the Pope, was "an illegitimate schismatic and intrusive pastor, and consequently the parish priest of Uzès, instituted by the same bishop, intrusive, as well as all the other ecclesiastics who

held communication with the Bishop of Avignon. Whence it followed," said he, "that since there could be no legitimate communication between the personages in question and themselves in matters of religion, it were better for the latter to abstain altogether from attending the churches at all, and from the use of the sacraments, than to be obliged to hold any manner of intercourse touching the sacraments with members of the clergy who had fallen into schism." These strange erroneous suggestions were received by the good young men in question, who imagined they were conversing with a persecuted priest, suffering imprisonment in the cause of God and the Church, with a degree of respect and veneration as if the words had fallen from the lips of a confessor of the faith, and they incautiously followed the counsels of their adviser. Melanie d'Amoureux, who happened to be acquainted with them, and was sincerely grieved at the resolution they had taken, persuaded them, a week after my arrival at Uzès, to apply to me for advice and guidance, in consequence of which they called upon me, and I succeeded accordingly, after a not very long colloquy, in disabusing them of their mistake, and persuading them to renew from that day forward their attendance at the church and their customary acts of devotion.

Another incident, with reference to the same subject, occurred to me while I remained at Uzès. A few days after the interview above referred to, I received from a young lady at Toulouse, by family name, if I remember right, Crasseuse, a letter, in which she stated "that there were several persons in Toulouse who refused to obey the Concordat of 1801 and to recognize the clergy instituted by that convention; wherefore," she added, "since one ecclesiastic, especially remarkable for his learning and piety, was among the recusants, that she requested enlightenment from myself on the subject, which, as she was perfectly acquainted with my native language, I might communicate," she said, "in Italian."

I profited accordingly by the latter intimation, and wrote her the following answer:—

"Your letter of the 3rd March has partly consoled and has partly grieved me. It has given me pleasure to be made acquainted with your zeal for the welfare and tranquillity of the church, conveyed in language that shows no slender attainments in learning, and a force of reasoning the gift of but few—for which, young lady, congratulating yourself, I render thanks to the Most High. On the other hand, I feel deeply afflicted

to hear that a worthy, zealous priest, capable of rendering acts of good service in the Lord's vineyard—where at the present day the labourers are so few—should separate himself from his legitimate pastor—from the great majority, I may almost say the totality of the French clergy and the clergy of other countries; and that instead of endeavouring by all the means in his power to extinguish the fatal schism which has for many years lacerated the Gallican church, he should be more ambitious of following his own particular opinion than ready to obey the voice of the governor of that church, the Holy Pontiff. Let us humble ourselves at this example, young lady, before God, and ever distrusting the lights of our own understanding, learn to keep ourselves strictly united to the chair of S. Peter under an invariable rule of conduct, such as is beautifully expressed in the words of the Dr. Massimo S. Girolamo to Pope S. Damaso: 'I hold myself bound,' he says, 'to your Blessedness the same as to the chair of S. Peter. I ignore Vitale, I reject Melesius, I know not Paulinus. Whosoever resorts not to your Holiness diverges from the faith; and he who is not with your Holiness belongs not to Christ.'

"Whatever the consequences that have already resulted from the Concordat concluded between the

Holy See and the French Government in the year 1801—whatever its future effects may be, it is nevertheless indisputable, not only that the Supreme Pontiff had a right to conclude it, but that the pastors, confirmed in consequence by the Holy Father, are legitimate; moreover, the jurisdiction having been thereby taken from the ancient bishops, that no recourse can be had to them in future; and that recourse, if had to them at all, is utterly useless. Miserable sinner as I am, I will not fail to recommend to the Lord in the Holy Sacrifice the cause that you sustain so energetically, and to which I trust, on some future day, I shall have the consolation to hear that your words, assisted by your prayers, have produced the best effect that we can all desire.

"Meanwhile, full of esteem and veneration for your person, I declare myself, &c. &c.

"B. CARDINAL PACCA."

A few weeks after I had sent the above reply I received from the same young lady another letter, written in the Italian language in a style so correct, that I can say, without exaggeration, very few persons even in Italy can equal it in composition. In this last letter my correspondent informed me that she had communi-

cated my reply to a great many persons, including several ecclesiastics, upon all of whom it had produced an infinitely good effect, and was generally looked upon as a perfect decision on the subject in question, such as every one must necessarily pay regard to rather than his own opinions.

I was thus tranquilly passing my days in Uzès while the allied armies, marching from the confines of Germany and Switzerland, continued to make progress; and Lord Wellington, descending from the Pyrenees, after having obliged the French entirely to evacuate the Peninsula, had entered the French territory.

At the invasion of the stranger, Napoleon strove to rouse the warlike subjects of the nation to show a front in the emergency; but the entire French population, invincible when united, were then so thoroughly worn out with continued warfare, that they declined to take part in a struggle which many of the neighbouring nations beheld with indifference; and others, in the hope of a more auspicious future for themselves from the triumph of the enemy and the fall of Bonaparte, regarded with satisfaction. The news had already reached Uzès, though the particulars were uncertain, in consequence of publication in the journals being prohibited by the prefects of the provinces; and accordingly,

nothing to be relied upon was actually known till on the morning of the 10th of April, Easter-day, it was announced, all of a sudden, that the troops of the Allies had actually entered Paris. This intelligence, so highly important to the French, who, their eyes continually fixed upon their capital, follow its fortunes and example, caused them at once to foresee the immediate downfall of the Imperial dynasty, which nevertheless was maintained for a few days longer under the Regency of the Empress Maria Louisa. On the evening of the 14th, a traveller from Avignon reported, that on that very morning the Imperial ensigns had been torn down by the inhabitants of the city, and the white cockade hoisted in its stead, under the general acclamations among the people of "Vive le Roi!" Being, therefore, in momentary expectation that the same demonstration would be made in Uzès, I heard, all of a sudden, on the morning of the 15th, a great noise of beating-drums and people shouting, while the bell of the cathedral sounded on the occasion by rapid strokes of a hammer, alarmed the whole neighbourhood. Immediately hastening to the window, I saw in the street below, a man of the lower classes, clad in a ragged dirty dress, wearing in his hat the white cockade, made probably of a piece of common writing paper; while as he went along

imitating, or, at all events, following the example of the people of Avignon in the manner of proclaiming the King's Government, he beat a drum, and shouted at the top of his voice incessantly, "A bas les droits réunis! Vive le Roi!"[1]

Though I could not refrain from smiling at the idea of protesting in the first instance against the heavy impost of the consolidated duties, and in the same breath proclaiming a monarchical government, I was in a state of considerable apprehension for the space of half an hour or more, not so much on account of my personal safety, for I knew I was venerated by the Catholics and held in respect even by the Huguenots; as I was alarmed at the thought that there might happen a collision between the Catholics and the Protestants, who during the few last days of the expiring empire had very unmistakeably manifested their animosity towards the august house of Bourbon. In short, I anticipated the possibility of an extensive massacre, though, fortunately, in the end not a single drop of blood was shed on the occasion, notwithstanding that in former times, as well as subsequently, when Bonaparte returned from the island of Elba and the Allies

[1] Down with the excise! God save the King!

entered France a second time, several persons lost their lives in the city and in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, the people continually shouting "Vive le Roi!" and hurrying in a vast crowd all over the town, visited every place where the Imperial eagles were to be seen, which they levelled with the ground and trod under foot, tearing down in like manner the tricolor flag from the public hall, otherwise called Hôtel de Ville. Finally, they broke open the barrack and set at liberty twelve hundred Russian prisoners confined there, who on being released joined the ranks of the rejoicing party and proceeded, captives and deliverers, leaping and dancing all together over the whole city. Especially in front of the house that I inhabited a numerous band of the above-mentioned motley assemblage were collected, and danced under my windows, loudly shouting all the time, "Vive sa Sainteté!" "Vive le Roi!" and occasionally "Vive le Cardinal!"

It was curious to observe that the maire, the magistrates, the financial functionaries—even the gendarmes, shifting their allegiance simultaneously, and replacing the tricolor by the white cockade, continued to perform the duties of their respective offices as if nothing had happened; which latter indication further corroborated a former impression, and rendered the assur-

ance in my mind still more certain, as I reflected how much those people deceive themselves who fancy that the multiplication of employments and offices is the means of binding the hearts of the people who receive the benefit, to the interests of a government. Here, at least, was an instance where the greater portion of the official persons in question were of another way of thinking, and no sooner were able to flatter themselves with the hope of preserving their places in office under the new form of government than they immediately turned their backs upon their ancient patrons, to worship, as we are wont to say, the rising sun. In the evening the whole city was illuminated, while the principal concourse of people were under my window, where they remained from sunset till midnight, incessantly discharging different descriptions of fire-arms, and dancing after various fashions, accompanying all these acts and movements with other indications, including the incessant cry, the same as in the morning, "Vive sa Sainteté!" "Vive le Roi!" "Vive le Cardinal!" Anxious to show the people that I sympathised with them in their expressions of jubilee, I frequently went to the window to thank the multitude, on which occasions I unfolded a white pocket handkerchief and cried out "Vive le Roi!" Indeed, if I remained for many

minutes out of sight within the apartment, the cries of the people without summoned me to the window again, and, especially whenever cars filled with musicians were passing the spot, continued to shout still louder than before, "Le Cardinal! Le Cardinal!" until at last I was actually obliged once more to make my appearance. In one of the cars above alluded to there was a man of the lower classes, or, as they called him, of the people, as I understood, a common carman, who was gifted with an extreme facility in composing verses, and recited a long composition of his own against Bonaparte. Even at a very late hour, after I had at last gone to bed, I was awakened from time to time by the noise and tumult that continued without abatement in the street below.

The next day the enthusiastic movement of the people was not at all diminished; among other demonstrations they erected at the door of the Maison d'Amoureux, where I lived, a small triumphal arch to my honour, with the following inscription above it: "To the just, liberated from oppression"—alluding to my having gained my liberty by the fall of Napoleon. On the following evening, Saturday, there was another illumination, with a repetition of all the former signs of merriment. In spite of the very cold weather I was accordingly obliged to remain out on the balcony

almost continually, whence every now and then I cried "Vive le Roi!" and once I pleased the people greatly, and caused a wonderful multiplication of shouts and applauses, by adding, "Vive la bonne cité d'Uzès!" At last several of the people in the street came up-stairs into my apartment, some, including many Calvinists, for the purpose of having a nearer view of me, and others from the desire of receiving my benediction; all continuing to go up and down stairs one after another in succession, without creating the least confusion or disorder.

From such genuine demonstrations of joy it may be easily imagined how great was the impression made on the minds of the French by a sudden change, that in a moment revived their hopes, and encouraged every individual to flatter himself with the expectation of meeting with better fortune, and being instantly relieved from the evils that oppressed him—with reference particularly to the abolition of the military conscription, and the total remission of the grievous *droits réunis* promised by the Comte d'Artois in his manifesto.

Moreover, the clergy and the Catholic nobility of Uzès, desirous from the bottom of their hearts for the return of the Bourbons, were justified in inaugurating a happy future under present appearances; for many of the noble families had by their obedience to the

summons to the Rhine of the Count de Provence, now about to ascend the throne under the title of Louis XVIII.—a summons from which originated the celebrated emigration of 1793—lost all their property; and after having wandered for many years in foreign countries in a continual state of mendicity and depression, had recently re-entered France, and from pure affection towards their paternal soil were now leading a wretched existence, without having recovered the smallest portion of their hereditary estates. These individuals, now repeating their offers of the allegiance that had hitherto cost them so dearly, to the monarch about to ascend the throne, flattered themselves, and with sufficient reason, with the hope of receiving at last a recompense for their services and a reward for the sufferings they had undergone for so long a period; at least, they could not doubt that their patrimonial estates, of which description of property no earthly authority can legitimately deprive the possessor, would be restored to them.

On Sunday the 17th, as I had expressed my intention to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice in the ancient cathedral, the national guard were under arms early in the morning, for the purpose of accompanying me, which they accordingly did, marching in two portions

on each side of my carriage, which was immediately preceded by a band of musical instruments, and people carrying a flag, that probably belonged to some pious society. For my own part, I was dressed in my cardinal's habit, and on my arrival at the church, two pieces of cannon, placed ready in the piazza in front of the building, were immediately discharged. During the celebration of the divine offices, the firing was repeated, and indeed on leaving home, the people were even desirous of unharnessing the horses and of drawing my carriage themselves, though, in the latter instance, I effectually resisted the offer, and would fain now have persuaded them to desist from further demonstrations. At the church-door the parish priest, with several other ecclesiastics, were waiting to receive me, together with several of the nobility of the city, who held a canopy above my head. The parish priest having given me the incense, addressed me in a brief, elegant discourse, that related to the auspicious events of the day, and the circumstance of my first entrance, dressed in the costume of a cardinal, into his church. As I advanced towards the altar, the signs of joy among the people were excessive, including, among other indications, the firing of pistols, several of which were actually

discharged inside the church, an act that I was compelled to beg of the people near me might be no more permitted. After the mass was over, I distributed the Eucharist to considerably more than three hundred communicants, which ceremony, as well as the service altogether, which was performed with the utmost devotion, made a visible impression on several Calvinists who attended the church from curiosity, for the sake as it were of a spectacle. On my return, I was reconducted to my house with the same accompaniments of music, &c., as before, amidst the incessant applauses of the multitude. In the afternoon, similarly dressed in my cardinal's habit, I returned to the church at vespers, at the termination of which a young priest, by name Payen, ascended the pulpit, and preached from the following text of the day:

"*Jesus came and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.*"[1]

The discourse, which was brief but animated, bore reference to the advantages of peace, and the new hopes that were now arising to the church and to the kingdom

[1] St. John xx. 19.

345

from the fall of Napoleon and the return to the throne of a legitimate sovereign. After the sermon was over, I concluded the holy ceremony by administering the most Holy Sacrament to many, and giving benediction to the numerous crowd of people that formed the congregation.

On the 18th I put in execution a project I had entertained a long time, and went to see some fine remains of a grand ancient aqueduct, called the Pont du Gard, situated six miles distant from Uzès, on the road between Nismes and Avignon; the best account of it that I have seen is written in the French language by the Marchese Scipione Maffei.[1] I was accompanied by the sous-préfet, and had the additional pleasure, during our excursion, to join company and have a long conversation with Cardinal Litta, on the portentous events that had just happened in France, and the probability of our immediate return to Italy. We inspected the remains of the aqueduct in question both together with the more pleasure, as the spectacle appeared as it were the forerunner of those magnificent vestiges which Cardinal Litta and myself were likely

[1] Galliæ Antiquitates quædam selectæ et in plures Epistolas distributæ, Paris, 1733.

to see within the space of a few weeks in Rome itself. After enjoying the former gratification, and after partaking a temperate dinner at a very small tavern near the ruin, our company returned one by one homewards, each to the respective place of his habitation.

On the way, the inhabitants of the city, and of the neighbourhood of Uzès, showed me a proof of their benevolence towards my person that was truly gratifying. I had hardly proceeded a mile on my return from the Pont du Gard, when, at a spot about five miles distant from the city, I was met by thirty young men of the nobility, and the most respectable classes, who were waiting there on horseback, for the purpose of attending me, as a guard of honour, back to my domicile. They had brought with them a large waggon drawn by four horses, containing a military band of music, consisting of a great many performers, who, while the car immediately preceded my carriage, never for a moment ceased playing various symphonies and concertos. As we thus went along, a portion of the young cavaliers riding on each side of the carriage, and the rest following behind, the notes of the instruments were mingled with the sound of the bells of the parish churches; while, as we passed the villages, within sight of the road, the inhabitants, headed by the

parish priest, were drawn up by the wayside in order, attended by other civilians, probably belonging to the national guards of the country, who, armed with muskets, testified the satisfaction they felt at my approach, by receiving me with military honours. On all these occasions, the carriage having been made to stop, the parish priest came up to the door and addressed to me a brief complimentary discourse; after which, requesting all the people who were present to kneel down, he begged my benediction for himself and for his parishioners. At a short distance from Uzès, a considerable portion of the population, attended by a large party of the national guard, who had come out on purpose to meet me, ranged themselves on each side of the carriage as it approached, and this suite and cortége, after escorting me with all the parade imaginable the entire circuit of the city, the national guards from time to time discharging their fire-arms in a volley, and, themselves as well as all the people, crying incessantly, "Vive sa Sainteté! Vive le Roi! Vive le Cardinal!" at last conducted me to my habitation. I ought not, however, to forget to mention, that on passing the barracks, where the Russian prisoners were confined, previous to their recent deliverance, the people also cried, "Vive

l'Empereur Alexandre!" which latter mark of attention and compliment to the Russian soldiers was a pleasing example, and gave me still further reason to know and appreciate the extremely delicate sense of discrimination that exists even among the lowest and most inconsequential classes of the French nation.

On the morning of the 19th I celebrated the mass in the parish church of S. Stephen, where the people showed me the same demonstrations of respect and veneration as before, and I distributed the eucharistic bread to more than a hundred persons. On the 20th I offered the Holy Sacrifice in the chapel of the Sisters of Charity; and on the 21st I repeated the same ceremony in the chapel of that branch of their order called the "Black Sisters." On one or other of the two last mentioned days I paid a visit in the afternoon to the convent of the Black Sisters during their school hours, and on my arrival was addressed by a little girl, certainly not more than ten years old, who stood in front of all the rest, and spoke a previously composed speech in a remarkably graceful manner. It commenced with the following tender, touching exordium: "Eminence," said the little creature, "we read in the life of the Redeemer that he loved little children, that he bade them come near him, that he caressed them, and

that he blessed them. Eminence, you too, following the footsteps of our Divine Master, have had sufferings and tribulation; and, Eminence, you imitate his blessed example also by loving little children, and coming here among us."

Such was the beginning of the young child's speech, the end—asking my benediction.

After I had returned home from the convent of the Black Sisters, the day of my departure being fixed for the morrow, the Maire of the city, Monseigneur Robernière, came at the head of the entire body of the Municipal Council, accompanied by deputations from the clergy and from the tribunals, for the purpose of paying me a complimentary parting visit previous to my journey. According to French custom, the Maire read me a speech written for the occasion; he concluded by asking my benediction, which he himself, and all the persons who were with him, received kneeling. There were several Calvinists present, who knelt down as well as the Catholics without affectation, and behaved at least with all apparent marks of proper respect.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Departure from Uzès, in consequence of the entrance of the Allied Armies into Paris — Arrival in Italy and Return to Rome.

THE 22nd of April, 1814, the day of my departure from Uzès, I may certainly reckon among the most memorable days of my life. With regard, however, to the route I was now about to undertake, it was not precisely the line I had originally projected to follow on my way to Italy, which latter intention, truly delightful as it would certainly have proved in the execution, I was compelled for various reasons to abandon. I had, in fact, been desirous of passing in the first instance direct to Avignon, a city only a few leagues distant from Uzès, and not only of most especial interest to a cardinal on account of the history of the popes to which it bears relation, but to myself in particular as one who from his early youth has been a warm admirer of Petrarch. Many therefore were the agreeable objects there calculated to recall to the mind the sweet reminiscences that a few days' sojourn would necessarily have created, although I determined in submission to consi-

derations of prudence to deny myself the satisfaction. The Imperial Government having only just now been overthrown by an unexpected tumultuous movement of the people, there had revived in a moment in the hearts of the inhabitants the ancient attachment to the Papal authority, that for many centuries rendered Avignon an object of bitter envy to the neighbouring provinces; and consequently the Avignonese were now flattering themselves with the conclusion, that since over the whole remainder of France at the fall of the Imperial Government a prince of the House of Bourbon, to whom the succession to the throne belonged, had at once without further announcement entered upon his ancient rights, so, and for similar reasons, the power of the usurper having come to an end at Avignon, the city and country ought in like manner to be restored to the Apostolic See. In fact, several of the Avignonese had not only been already at Uzès on purpose to speak to me on the subject, but, under the certain impression that such an act of justice would be rendered to the Holy Father, the legitimate successor of their ancient sovereigns, they had had the foresight to recommend themselves to me for divers official posts and employments, which in such a case they presumed would lie under my patronage. For my own part,

ignorant at that time of what might be the intentions and projects of the allied powers, and particularly mindful of the saying which I had many times heard from the lips of French emigrants, "Ce qui est mal pris, est bien gardé,"[1] I confined myself to general terms in my answers to the gentlemen in question, and finally resolved, as I said before, to lay aside my intention of going to Avignon for the reasons just stated.

The feeling of the people with regard to the Pope was indeed so strong at Avignon that on the occasion of his Holiness passing through the city in the beginning of August, 1809, on his way from Grenoble to Savona, the demonstrations of affection and devotion towards his person exhibited by the entire population were so unusually clamorous, notwithstanding his condition was that of an absolute prisoner, that the very guards who escorted him were, with good reason, struck with fear and wonder at the vast concourse of people who accompanied him even outside the gates, clapping their hands, and incessantly greeting him with the acclamation, "Long live our sovereign!" At the present moment, therefore, the population having since shaken off the Imperial yoke, and being in a state

[1] What is ill gotten is well guarded.

of independence and insurrection, the appearance at Avignon of a cardinal who had occupied the post in Rome of the Pope's last minister and pro-secretary of state, and as they would naturally conclude might occupy the same post again, among a people whom their national lightness of character easily excites to a too zealous degree of enthusiasm, would very likely have been the means of instigating them to adopt some sudden determination that might embroil the Apostolic See and myself with the Allies. It was with considerable pain notwithstanding that I refrained from visiting the ancient seat of the Popes, the many pleasing spots immortalized by Petrarch's pen,—and the tomb of Laura.

I would, moreover, willingly have passed through Valenza, and have visited, as it were a sanctuary, the chamber in which Pius VI. died, and the church where his remains lay for some time deposited; great, indeed, would have been the satisfaction there to have gathered notices relating to the last moments of the life of my noble benefactor, to whose memory the French—as it was a matter of the utmost consolation to me to perceive, on travelling through the country—rendered ample justice, and regarded with a degree of veneration that had not, at the time in question,

sufficiently developed itself in Italy. But all these sources of gratification were alike left unvisited, not only in conformity with my own determination, but from the advice and suggestions of my colleagues; though the sacrifice was made with the less reluctance in the anticipation of joining the Holy Father with the least possible delay, and assisting him with my services on his return to his ancient see. I accordingly took the road to Nismes, with the intention of crossing Provence, and descending into Italy by way of the Col di Tenda.

But to return to the circumstances of my departure from Uzès. In the first place, it was intimated to me in the morning that a considerable number of the inhabitants were desirous of accompanying me in procession, on foot, from my house through the city; and I was therefore requested to have my carriage sent outside the walls accordingly. In conformity with the above arrangement, almost all the clergy who were in Uzès assembled at an early hour at my habitation dressed in their church vestments, and there, accompanied by the principal gentlemen and ladies of the place, they attended the celebration of the mass in my private chapel. So soon as the mass was over, I put on a travelling dress, and, after I had taken leave of the

ladies d'Amoureux, and had said adieu to many worthy acquaintance assembled on the spot, the procession fell into order, and began to move away, headed by one of the clergy, dressed in his surplice, bearing a cross, followed by several pairs of young women, all, if I remember right, dressed in white, and singing hymns as they proceeded. After the damsels walked several pairs of artisans, carrying colours, and joining their voices to the former. Next came a band of wind instruments; then several gentlemen of the city, and after these the clergy, all, like the rest, walking two and two, and accompanying the other singers with their voices, while the subject of the hymns was purposely adapted to persons setting forth on a journey. For my own part, I formed one of three, walking in the middle between two respectable ecclesiastics, the parish priest and the Dean, both of whom seemed much moved by the spectacle; we were followed by the sous-préfet and the maire, after whom came the judges of the tribunals, dressed in their robes of office. Finally, this—I know not whether to call it properly march or procession—was closed by the national guard, arranged in two separate divisions, one on each side, and forty young men of the city on horseback. As we went along, the streets all the way were crowded with

people of every description, Calvinists and Catholics, all indiscriminately mingled together; and when we arrived on the flat ground outside the city, where a vast multitude of the inhabitants were waiting our arrival, I was earnestly requested to give my benediction to the city, and did so accordingly. Turning round towards the walls, the moment I lifted up my hand to perform that act of religion the people all dropped upon their knees simultaneously; and as they imprinted the sign of the Cross upon their foreheads with an unfeigned sentiment of devotion that visibly appeared on all their countenances, they reiterated over and over again their good wishes for my prosperous journey until, as whosoever may happen to cast an eye over these pages may readily believe, my eyes were filled with tears, and the valedictory signs and gestures that I made as the carriage drove away were truly indicative of the gratitude that I experienced.

The judges of the tribunals and the forty young men on horseback accompanied me as far as the parochial limits of the city of Uzès, where the carriage being stopped on purpose, and the whole party ranging themselves in order, one, in the name of all the rest, expressed their warm interest in my future

welfare by a parting complimentary address, to which I trust the expression of my features did more justice than the few words I was able to utter in reply. When all was over and they had returned on their way homewards, I found myself surprised, as it were, by a pleasing sensation of melancholy, that was interrupted at the distance of a few miles from the city by the Conseiller d'Amoureux, the owner of the house in Uzès where I had lived, who had come to meet me on purpose to invite me to dine with him that day, on passing through Nismes, at his residence in that city. As the carriage entered Nismes, all the people in the street saluted me respectfully, and cried "Vive le Cardinal!" Having taken up my quarters in the Hôtel de Luxembourg, where I had stopped on a former occasion, I went to the house of the Conseiller d'Amoureux, where a select party of ecclesiastics and gentlemen of the country were invited to meet me at dinner, and I had the pleasure of making acquaintance with Monsieur Trinquellaque, a very worthy person, sincerely attached to the Bourbons. After dinner, accompanied by Monsieur Trinquellaque and two parish priests, I went to see the curiosities of Nismes, consisting of various ancient as well as modern monuments belonging to that famous city. Of all these objects

those that principally claim the attention of the traveller are the ruins of an ancient amphitheatre and the remains of an ancient temple, the latter commonly called "Maison Carrée."[1] With regard to the amphitheatre, I had an excellent opportunity of observing the interior, for the Emperor Napoleon had recently caused it to be cleared; besides which several houses, that previously stood in the way, were at the same time removed. As we passed along the streets, I saw a crowd of boys, dragging through the mud a bust of Napoleon, which they were going to throw into a common sewer: an indignity which was not only practised in Nismes, but in several other cities of Provence and Languedoc; notwithstanding that in Provence especially, Napoleon, passing through the country only ten months afterwards, was greeted with enthusiastic acclamations.

The following morning, having passed the night at my inn, I said mass in an apartment which my worthy hostess had ornamented very beautifully, and had previously fitted up as a chapel for his Eminence the Cardinal Litta, who resided in this inn while he remained at Nismes. A great many people, including

[1] Square house.

many ladies desirous of receiving the communion at my hands, were present at the ceremony.

After the mass was over and I had taken leave of several inhabitants of Uzès, who followed me all the way to Nismes, I departed on the road to Italy, and the first evening arrived at a place called Saint Remy, the last post before arriving at Orgon. On Sunday the 24th I reached Aix, the ancient capital of Provence, at about eleven o'clock in the forenoon; where, having asked for the church the nearest the post-house in order that I might hear the mass, I was conducted to the parochial church, which belonged formerly to the order of the Knights of Malta. The mass had begun some time when I entered, and the parish priest was just about to ascend the pulpit to deliver his sermon, the subject of which, the day being the second Sunday after Easter, was the Good Shepherd. The priest having proposed the text accordingly, concluded his extempore exordium in nearly the following words: —"On what day," said he, "can the subject of the Good Shepherd be treated more appropriately than on a day when we are honoured with the presence of a Prince of the Church, one of its chief pastors, and an illustrious councillor of the Vicar of Christ, the Shepherd of Shepherds, who has before blessed the walls of this

city with his presence?" &c. &c. &c. He then proceeded, after delivering the eulogy he thought proper to make on the occasion of my presence, to declaim in a loud voice against the tyranny which, he said, had so long impeded the labours of the Apostolic See. When the mass was over the worthy parish priest accosted me before I went out of the church, and requesting to know my name, we had a short conversation, after which I proceeded on my journey and passed the night at Brignoles, where I had an interview with the Cardinal Dugnani, who was living there in a state of deportation.

The next morning, the 25th day of the month, having arrived at a village called Le Luc, where we changed horses, a stranger came to the carriage and informed my attendants that the Princess Borghese, Pauline Bonaparte, who was at a country-house a little distance from the village, having heard that some of the cardinals were about to pass on their return to Italy, was extremely desirous of an interview with one or other of their Eminences. When the above communication was announced to me I merely said in reply, that I had not the honour of her acquaintance, neither was I myself at all known to the Princess; after which nothing more was said on the subject, and the carriage drove

on. However, having proceeded about a league on the road, I saw a country-house, pleasantly situated, and a party of soldiers stationed in front of it; wherefore imagining that the Princess lived there, as she really did, it occurred to me at the same time that I had acted somewhat harshly, and at least had shown a want of courtesy in declining to wait upon a sick, and at that time an unfortunate lady, who had in fact actually expressed a desire to see me. I farther reflected, that she would naturally be more susceptible of a slight at the present moment, by contrasting the refusal on my part to visit her, with the very different conduct pursued by various cardinals towards her when she lived in Rome the wife of the Prince Borghese and sister of the First Consul. Accordingly I immediately stopped the carriage, and having got out and announced myself to the soldiers as a cardinal, I was allowed to proceed to the mansion, where I was introduced to the attendants of the Princess, who, especially one of them, a Piedmontese lady, appeared much surprised on hearing I was the Cardinal Pacca. I was then forthwith ushered into the apartment of the Princess, and was surprised and shocked at finding her so thoroughly overcome by bodily and mental ailment, so emaciated, and so deadly pale, that had not one of her ladies-in-

waiting presented me to her, I never could have ventured to assert, as I do in the present instance, that I was in the presence of the celebrated Paolina Bonaparte, whose grace and beauty were once so much eulogised in the French journals. The Princess received me very courteously, and with easy elegance of manner, and an air of vivacity tempered with melancholy, spoke to me with much courage and unreservedly of her brother Napoleon's late fatal catastrophe. "She hoped," she said, "soon to come to Italy, in a frigate that King Joachim Murat would dispatch to the port of Nice for the purpose of conveying her thither;" and she added, "that since I was likely to be in Rome in the course of a few days, she begged I would call upon her mother, and also upon her uncle, Cardinal Fesch, and acquaint them of her intended arrival." I promised the noble lady to comply with her request, and concluding my visit, which altogether lasted for a very short period, by offering a few words of comfort, such as were likely to afford support and encouragement under her misfortunes and disgraces, which I entreated her to bear with resignation in a manner worthy her rank and position, I then took my leave. With reference to the above anecdote, I have been more particularly induced to relate it on account of what follows,

and to place on record the gratitude shown by the Princess when she did actually arrive in Rome in the year 1816. She then related to her friends all the circumstances of my visit; which mark of attention coming from a person who had been so ill-treated by her brother the Emperor, she described as an act of heroism. In Rome, moreover, the Princess omitted no opportunity, and took every possible occasion, to testify to me her acknowledgments; and finally, in her will, made only a few hours before her death, mentioning me in the most respectful, obliging terms, she bequeathed me a considerable legacy.

Returning to my carriage, I had not proceeded far on my journey before I received intelligence that at that very moment the ex-Emperor Napoleon, having left Fontainebleau, banished to the island of Elba, destined to him, with the right of sovereignty, by the allied powers, was then actually on the frontier of Provence, which news instantly filled my mind with serious reflections, and caused me at once to meditate on the wonderful fortune and the vicissitudes experienced by that extraordinary man, which are calculated to fill an infinite number of pages in the annals of history. Born in a small island, looked upon by the world with contempt, and even little regarded by the

French themselves, to whom it belongs, in the year 1794 he was an artillery officer in France, who had never been heard of beyond the limits of the country. The same individual, notwithstanding, at the end of the year 1804, within the short space of ten years, having then already as it were filled all the earth with his name and glory, and visited the continents of Africa and of Asia, was anointed and consecrated Emperor in Paris; a ceremony performed in the presence of great princes and a royal cortége, by the Roman Pontiff in person. At the end of a few weeks, notwithstanding the oaths of hatred to royalty that he had made the Italians take a year or two before, he laid aside the modest title of President of the Italian Republic, for the dignity of King of Italy. In fact, in none of his enterprises, military or political, did he meet with obstacle or resistance. At the termination of another decennial period, now in the year 1814, after having attained the highest summit of earthly elevation, and in the interim having espoused a descendant of many Cæsars, an arch-duchess of the House of Austria, related to all the royal families of Europe, and having seated his brothers and sisters upon various thrones, he himself was hurled from his own throne, conducted a prisoner to the island of Elba, and invested

with a sovereignty conceded to him, as if it were intended in mockery to reduce him to the level of the little kings of Ithaca, Scio, and other ignoble islands that we read of in the Iliad and the Odyssey.

The question that for a long period has been mooted, whether the title of "Great" may properly be applied to Napoleon, might be answered very easily, provided the epithet were exclusively bestowed on sovereigns who have proved themselves true benefactors of the human race; in such a case one might reply in the words of Seneca,[1] "These names (the great and good) cannot be separated from one another, for everything that is great is either good, or not great as it appears to be;" but unfortunately the capricious opinions of men of all ages have found another more efficient claim to the prize of true glory to be the proficiency in the art of cutting people's throats, and have accordingly awarded the palm to those princes who are the greatest warriors and conquerors.[2] The title of Great was given by the ancient Greeks to Alexander of Macedon, by the Romans to Pompey; in more recent times, in the seven-

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[1] "Hæc nomina separari non possunt; magnum quippe aut bonum est, aut non magnum."—Lib. i. *De Irâ.*

[2] "Le comble de la gloire, et le plus beau de tous les arts, a été de se tuer les uns les autres."—BOSSUET, *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle.*

teenth century, by the moderns to Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, and to Frederick King of Prussia, neither of whom can be rated superior to Napoleon Bonaparte, either with reference to his sublime military talents, or the extent and celerity of his conquests. Neither can it be said of Napoleon, so long as we are bound to render justice to truth, that military valour was his only merit, for after his return from Egypt he did many great acts, and in the difficult art of governing mankind, and directing the affairs of nations, exhibited luminous examples of talent. What was the state of France, for instance, in 1799, when hastily disembarking at Frejus he hurried immediately to Paris, at a moment when intestine discord agitated the entire kingdom, that was as it were torn in pieces by different factions? In the first place, the Directory, then generally held in contempt and exposed to continual revolutionary shocks, was no longer in a state to maintain itself; the French armies had been beaten and driven out of Italy, the nation was at war with almost all the other powers of Europe, and her frontiers were menaced in every quarter. Such was the fearful, fatal period when Napoleon, assuming the reins of government under the title of First Consul, immediately repressed the factions, reconciled the insurrectionary

provinces with the state, and partly by means of the terror inspired by his armies, and partly by the dexterity of his political negotiations, calling victory back again to the French standard, obliged all Europe within the space of a few months to recognise a free, independent republic. To all which great deeds, enacted in so short a space of time, is to be added one other, which, though imperfectly carried out, and perhaps altogether originated by political motives, is the greatest of all, namely, the re-establishment of public worship in the Catholic churches. When elevated to the Imperial dignity, imitating the Cæsars of ancient Rome, he created and deposed kings, obliging even sovereigns occasionally to attend his court at Paris; moreover, with a daring, truly Roman spirit, he opened long broad roads over ground previously considered inaccessible; embellished the capital with new bridges and other edifices; and promoted the sciences, the arts, and the manufactures. What is more surprising than all, the reign of Napoleon in France was always tranquil, and that portion of the nation, which in the last years of the unfortunate Louis XVI. was barbarous and inhuman, and continually restless, turbulent, and rebellious under the Legislative Assembly, the Convention, and the Directory, lay timid and prostrate at his feet. If, therefore, for fear

of profaning the glorious title of "the Great," we decline to confer it on Napoleon, we certainly cannot fail to accord to him the merit of possessing incredible activity, and of being the most extraordinary individual that ever was read of.

Many have been the arguments and numerous the speculations that have emanated from various quarters touching the prodigiously rapid exaltation of Napoleon to the apex of human greatness, and his not less sudden, portentous fall. For my own part, without having recourse to political reasoning concerning the foundation and ruin of kingdoms and empires, and the fallacious conjectures of human wisdom, I find in the Divine Scriptures a sufficient explanation of the cause of those great events which, rightly to understand, we, the spectators, must lift our eyes on high. The Almighty, desirous of inflicting just punishment on the nations of Europe, and of laying the weight of his hand upon the people, selected Napoleon to be the minister of his vengeance, and no sooner did he accordingly appear at the head of the French armies, than the celebrated prophecy of Isaiah, once before verified in the instance of Cyrus, to whom the memorable words from the mouth of God himself were addressed by the inspired writer, was re-enacted:—

"*Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut;*

"*I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron.*"[1]

Indeed Napoleon himself, while he was still First Consul, aware that the success attendant on his military enterprises and his political negotiations was, as it were, a thing out of the common order of nature, exclaimed one day, when overborne by an excess of pride, such as is the failing of those who see every act they do succeed and prosper, "that Providence had destined him to be the means of reproducing good order on the face of the earth." And so, in fact, there was a considerable period when he might have conferred vast benefits on mankind. Though restricting myself to matters of religion exclusively, I would merely observe that if, after having imitated the great Cyrus in the re-establishment of the churches and the altars, he had in good truth become the protector of the Church, as many people had reason to hope at the beginning of his

[1] Isaiah xlv. 1, 2.

Consulate he would have been,—if he had restored to the Holy See its usurped dominions, and had caused the power of the Roman Pontiff to be respected in Europe, the Church would have again been blessed with the golden days of Constantine, Theodosius, and Charlemagne, and he himself would certainly have deserved, and no doubt obtained, from the generous gratitude and munificence of the reigning Pontiff the superlative honour of being able to call himself the third Catholic monarch, represented by a marble statue in the majestic basilica of the Vatican—a statue, at all events, that would have been placed not far distant, and probably in the middle between those of Constantine and Charlemagne. Not only, however, did he not follow the glorious examples of the two above-mentioned great monarchs by protecting the Holy See and the Roman Pontiff, but he even made himself their violent oppressor; for which sole reason, notwithstanding the vile, indecent adulation poured upon him in the time of his glory and his triumphs by adherents and partisans, including, alas! many of the clergy of France and Italy, his name will be repeated with horror, and replenish the annals of history among the persecutors of the Roman Church, while he himself will be remembered as the rod of chastisement, which, so soon as the period established by

Divine Providence for the purpose of giving a truce to long-vexed Europe had arrived, the Lord, with the same facility with which he raised it, cast upon the ground.

Absorbed in the above reflections, I arrived in the evening at Cannes, and the next day, the 26th, proceeded on the road to Nice. Crossing the Var, that divides the kingdom of France from the Sardinian States, under the influence of feelings widely different to those I entertained on entering France in the years 1809 and 1813, and leaving a hospitable nation, from whom I had received so many demonstrations of affectionate devotion, there became awakened in my heart sincere, well-deserved sentiments of gratitude and attachment towards a people whose higher classes are better educated and more polished than in any other country where I have happened to establish a temporary residence, and even among whose lower classes I have never experienced the rude, rustic, disagreeable bearing which in many parts of the world reduces the lowest grades almost to the condition of savages in appearance, and even occasionally prevails in some degree in our own Italy. Moreover, among the population of various parts of France I have remarked universally a virtuous, beneficent, strong, active sentiment of compassion for the victims of overbearing, despotic power:

and particularly in the instance of the Spaniards, prisoners of war, and those deported as rebels to various cities, whom the Emperor and his ferocious ministers treated with extreme harshness; the population of the parts of France traversed by those unhappy people invariably did all in their power to comfort and assist them, manifesting at the same time, without reserve or concealment, their disapprobation of the unjust, perfidious war which the Government had carried into Spain. One instance within my own observation occurred at Fontainebleau, when one day, either in December, 1813, or in January, 1814, there arrived there some Spaniards, whom they were conducting under sentence of deportation into the interior of France, in consequence of the frontier being at that time menaced by the armies of the Allies. The weather being cold in the extreme, and the ground all over the city and in the neighbourhood covered with snow, many of the inhabitants of Fontainebleau, although according to the orders of the Government they were only obliged to furnish simple lodging, went out themselves to meet the above-mentioned Spaniards, and having kindly conducted them to their own houses, not only gave each of them an excellent supper, but a good bed also. I can also bear personal testimony to another circum-

stance that happened when I was at Uzès. A report being current in the town one evening that an Italian gentleman, said to be a Neapolitan, had arrived under an escort of gendarmes, and was confined in the tower for the night, Melanie d'Amoureux no sooner heard of it than, moved by the picture of misfortune created by the simple story, she herself, assisted by one of her female relatives, went both together from house to house that very evening and collected a small sum of money, which the next morning, on the departure of the foreigner from the tower, they presented to him, and accompanied their generous gift to the captive by a kind, consolatory exhortation. Such recollections, of which I could cite many others, similar and well authenticated, continually recurred to my mind, and my heart was filled with gratitude to France and her inhabitants when I arrived at an early hour of the day at Nice, where I remained all night. The next morning, the 27th, I had an inclination to proceed by sea to Genoa, whither the passage with a favourable wind may be made in a few hours, but being dissuaded by the accounts I heard of its uncertain duration, I determined to continue my journey by land, and pass over the Col di Tenda.

Notwithstanding the magnificence of the new roads

made by Napoleon over Mont Cenis and the Simplon, the road in question still retained its originally rough Alpestrine form, leading over the mountains that separate France from Italy, and traversing the country of Tenda. I made the transit in company with Cardinal Somaglia, whom I met on the way, and accordingly we passed the first night at Sospello, and the second night we arrived at Tenda. On the same morning, the 30th, when we had got within a short distance of that very small city, we seated ourselves in one of those rough, ugly looking sledges, in which people are dragged to the summit of the mountain, and thence the descent on the other side is made through the ice and snow, with almost incredible, fearful celerity. Soon after, arriving on the plain below, we came to a village called Limone, where, at the door of a church, the most holy sacrament was already exposed, and the priests who received us gave us the benediction. We remained in this village more than an hour waiting for our carriages, which, during the latter portion of the journey above referred to, were obliged to be taken to pieces, and carried on the backs of mules and horses to Limone, where they were refitted. Leaving Limone, and continuing our journey, we arrived two or three hours after night-

fall at a large town or village called S. Dalmazio. Observing that there were lights in the windows of all the houses, and being curious to know the cause of the illumination, I asked one of the people belonging to the crowd who had gathered about the carriage, "Whether the King of Sardinia had arrived?" The man having replied in the negative, it occurred to me they were celebrating some festival, so I repeated the question in other terms, and asked what was the cause of the illumination? Several persons that were standing among the crowd then came up to me immediately, and told me that "the reason the town was illuminated was on account of the arrival of our Eminences." I was sensibly affected at the demonstrations of respect and attachment paid us by these good people, and thanking them from my heart, we proceeded, after a short delay, on our journey, and arrived at Cuneo at midnight.

The following morning, the first day of May, before my departure, a deputation of the clergy came to pay me a visit of compliment, and at the same time requested me to use my influence with the Holy Father, and with the royal court of Sardinia, to the end that their respectable city might be erected into an episcopal see, and thereby placed on a par with

other Piedmontese cities of less consequence which had already been so elevated. In reply, I promised to comply with their request, and I kept my word with them; in consequence of which the new bishopric of Cuneo was established in the year 1817. The same day I arrived at Turin, where I staid all night, and remained there the whole of the following day, during which time I made earnest inquiries with regard to the Pope, of whose destiny I was told, from the time when he crossed the Taro, people were ignorant, and nobody was able to say whither he went, or where was his present residence. My colleague and myself were not a little surprised that the prelates and other persons attached to the Holy Father had not taken the precaution of addressing a letter to Turin, for the purpose of notifying the intentions and sovereign commands of his Holiness to the members of the Sacred College, who, they might naturally conclude, would have been set at liberty at the fall of Napoleon, and then be not far from the frontiers of Italy. Leaving Turin on the 3rd of May, I slept at Vercelli, and continuing my journey on the 4th, arrived, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, at the great city of Milan, where I remained three days in the house of the Marchese Crivelli, brother of my sister-in-law.

During my stay, I learnt that the Pope, after crossing the Taro, had proceeded to the Romagna, where it was supposed he was still residing, waiting the arrival of the cardinals. I left Milan on the 7th, and slept that night at Parma; on the 8th I arrived at Modena, where I had again the pleasure of meeting with an old acquaintance, and took up my residence in the house of the amiable family Marchisio.

I must not forget to mention the benevolent conduct of the Modenese at the present crisis. Desirous to show hospitality to all those ecclesiastics and other inhabitants of the Pontifical States, who, not having taken the oath required of them, or on account of some other similar cause, more deserving of praise than of censure, were on their return homewards, after having been driven by the French into exile, and in some instances confined in prisons, persons were appointed to remain at all hours of the day, outside the town of Modena, a little distance from the gate, for the especial purpose of interrogating every traveller who arrived, and of ascertaining whether he belonged to the Pontifical States, or whence he came; the question being answered, in every instance of those on their return from exile, or even if they were simply subjects of the Pope, a ticket was given them, specifying the

house whither they were directed to go, not only to be furnished with good lodging, a bed, and a supper, but to receive every other kind comfort and accommodation. The following morning, after their night's rest, if they were priests, they received alms for the mass, and if belonging to the poorer classes, their carriage-fare was paid as far as Bologna. In case of their arriving at Modena in a state of bodily infirmity, or if they happened to fall sick while remaining there, medical and surgical aid was provided gratuitously.

While I was in the house of the Marchisio family, I received intelligence that the Pope had already dispatched apostolic delegates for the purpose of taking formal possession of Rome and a portion of the Pontifical States, and I also read in print the proclamation which had been published in consequence. I was not, however, altogether satisfied with the document. After dinner, having made acquaintance, during my short stay in Modena, with various persons of distinguished merit, and of the good old-fashioned way of thinking, among others, with the librarian, D. Giuseppe Baraldi, and the professors Gallinari and Ponziani, I took leave of my worthy host and hostess with much regret, and proceeding on my journey, slept the same night at

Bologna. At Bologna I heard more tidings of the Pope, who it was reported had already taken the direct road to Rome, which hasty determination evidently showed that the prelates and other persons about his Holiness were imprudently eager to conduct him to Rome before the cardinals could have time to join him. On the 10th I left Bologna, though I made little progress for want of post-horses, in consequence of the transit of Neapolitan troops, who then returning towards their own frontier, carried with them disorder and confusion wherever they went. The same night I staid at Cesena, and was very kindly received and lodged by the Cavaliere Galeffi, brother of my worthy colleague, the cardinal of that name.

On the evening of the 11th I arrived in Sinigaglia, where I had the unexpected satisfaction of rejoining the Pope, whom, however, I did not see till the morning of the 12th, from which period, adding one more member to his previous suite, I accompanied him during the rest of the, I will not say journey, but rather triumphal march, which lasted several successive days, till after passing through Ancona, Loreto, Macerata, Tolentino, Fuligno, Spoleto, and Terni, his Holiness made his solemn entry into Rome on the 24th. Near the domain called La Giustiniana, eight miles from Rome,

his Holiness was met on the road by King Charles the Fourth of Spain, his consort Queen Maria Louisa, the Queen of Etruria their daughter, and the Infante D. Ludovico, then called King of Etruria, all which royal personages, accompanied by the Duchess of Chablais, had been residing for some time in Rome in a state of banishment, in consequence of the political occurrences that caused them to leave their own countries. At the above-mentioned spot, Cardinal Mattei and myself had the honour of being invited to enter the carriage of the Holy Father, and bear part in his glorious triumphal reception at the Pons Milvius, commonly called the Ponte Molle, where the Commission of State, that is to say the prelates and gentlemen of the laity charged with the provisional government of Rome, had, on our arrival, already assembled to render their homage to the Holy Father. Here the people unharnessed the horses of the Pope's carriage, which was drawn all the way into the city by twenty-four young Romans belonging to respectable families of the laity, all dressed in uniform. In this manner we proceeded the whole distance from the Ponte Molle by way of the Porta del Popolo to S. Peter's, and afterwards from S. Peter's to the Quirinale Palace. I cannot attempt to describe the universal demonstrations of joy and

affectionate devotion manifested on the present triumphal occasion by the good people of Rome towards his Holiness. For my own part I candidly confess, that even had not the event in question been sufficiently dwelt upon by other writers, I should have felt myself unequal, as I do at present, to give a just idea of the gorgeous magnificence of the spectacle. Very many individuals indeed there were among the multitude, who, while the Holy Father was greeted by the resounding acclamations of the people, would willingly, on the carriage passing by, have swelled with the strength of their voices the general torrent of applause, but, prevented by sobs and tears from uttering an articulate sound, manifested their inward joy by gestures and silent expression.

What then, if such were the effect produced on the bystanders and indifferent people by the appearances of the moment, must have been my sensations when, giving loose to my reflections, I considered the different events that through the lapse of years had befallen me, and contrasted the different circumstances of my departure from Rome, with the accompaniments of my glorious return to the Eternal city? The picture of my melancholy condition on the 10th of February also recurred to my imagination,—the degraded state of

depression, in which, accompanied by a gendarme, I arrived a prisoner at Uzès, uncertain of my future fate, and at all events with a bitterly miserable prospect of the future before me. "What," said I to myself, "would you have thought, if, on that sad day, any one had addressed to you such words of comfort as, 'Be of good cheer; ere many weeks have elapsed you shall be seated by the side of the Holy Father, and enter Rome once more amidst applauses of a population inebriated with happiness?' Would not you have thought him who told you so, one of those flighty persons whose day-dreams suggest invariably to their imagination the particular changes and metamorphoses in the course of human events that are exclusively conformable to their wishes?" * * *

Such was the abstracted state of my mind, filled with the recollections of all the lamentable occurrences that had taken place from the day of my departure, when the long and earnestly desired moment having arrived, my feet once more pressed the hallowed soil of S. Peter's, and my lips involuntarily repeated softly in a whisper the eloquent and poetical passage of S. Jerome in his dialogue against the Luciferians:—

"The ship of the Apostles was in peril, driven by the winds, her sides lashed by the waves, no hope

remaining. The Lord arises, He governs the tempest, the beast perishes, tranquillity returns. In more simple terms, the indulgence of a new prince recalls to their churches the bishops who were driven from their proper sees. Egypt receives her triumphant Athanasius, the church of France embraces Hilarius returning from the wars, Italy lays aside her mourning at the presence of Eusebius." [1]

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[1] Periclitabatur navicula Apostolorum, urgebant venti, fluctibus latera fundebantur; nihil jam supererat spei. Dominus excitatur, imperat tempestati, bestia moritur, tranquillitas redit. Manifestius dicam: Omnes Episcopi, qui de propriis sedibus fuerant exterminati, per indulgentiam novi Principis ad ecclesias redeant. Nunc triumphatorem suum Athanasium Ægyptus excepit, tunc Hilarium de prælio revertentem Galliarum Ecclesia complexa est; tunc ad reditum Eusebii lugubres vestes Italia mutavit.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Apologetic Letter, &c., from Lieutenant-General Radet to Pope Pius VII.[1] relating to the part borne by the General in the Abduction of Pius VII. and Cardinal Pacca from Rome, and giving an Account of their Journey.

WHILE I was Pro-Secretary of State, in the absence of Cardinal Consalvi, Monseigneur de Pressigny, late Bishop of S. Malo, the first ambassador dispatched by Louis XVIII. to the court of Pius VII. after his return from Fontainebleau, sent me the following letter, accompanied by a note from himself, stating that having been requested by the General, Baron Radet, to present the letter in question and its enclosure to the Holy Father, and conceiving that the subject of it might be displeasing to his Holiness, he had forwarded the papers to myself as Cardinal Pro-Secretary of State, in order that, under the above-mentioned circumstances, I might act as I thought proper. In reply to Monseigneur de Pressigny, I said, that although for my own part I should have had the greatest pleasure in bringing to the Holy Father's notice every circumstance likely

[1] For original French letter see Appendix.

to reflect honour on the hospitable French nation, I must at the same time decline to place before the eyes of his Holiness a document that must necessarily recall to his memory a host of unpleasant reflections relating to bygone misfortunes.

The letter of General Radet, which relates exclusively to the storming of the Quirinale Palace, at daybreak on the morning of the 6th of July, 1809, and the abduction of his Holiness from Rome, is as follows:—

"MOST HOLY FATHER,

"Certain publications, that have had extensive circulation, have described my conduct towards your Holiness as that of a man without principle, without manners, and without religion; a man who, especially on a late deplorable occasion, failed to show the degree of holy respect and regard due to the sacred character of your Holiness.

"On the other hand, there are accounts no less false than the preceding, that have represented me a person guilty of the crime of *lèse-majesté*, by having, they say, carried into execution the arrest of your august person without proper orders, and for having

used towards your Holiness a degree of severity as useless as it was criminal.

"They have pressed their injustice still farther; and have even had the audacity to write, print, and affirm to astonished Europe that I caused a part of the Quirinale Palace to be burnt or demolished; that I used no more ceremony in arresting your Holiness than the officers of justice employ to seize the vilest of criminals; and that I had your Holiness bound with cords, and let down from the upper story of the palace through a window. In short, the lamentable event has been surcharged with the most odious circumstances for the sole purpose of misleading the public mind, and of damaging the character of those persons who, from their position, were unfortunately obliged to take part in it.

"My calumniators have even gone so far as to assert that I permitted an ungovernable soldiery to pillage the Quirinale Palace, particularly the Holy Chapel and the chamber of your Holiness.

"Of these slanderous accusations, often repeated in pamphlets that have been profusely spread abroad, although, perhaps, the object may not have been to lay to my charge the entire blame of the transaction in

question, I have been made, nevertheless, the victim. I see, at all events, my honour compromised; and have, consequently, more than sufficient reason to determine me to repel the unjust accusations.

"In order, therefore, to acquit myself of a duty, and for my own justification, I have thought proper to compose a faithful account of the unhappy affair, such as may reflect equal honour on your Holiness and on the proselytes of religion; which account I have forwarded to the Minister of War, with the request that it may be placed before the eyes of my Sovereign.

"I take the liberty also to lay a copy of it at the foot of your Holiness's throne, and humbly to beseech your Holiness to take under your favourable consideration, and deign to render your testimony to the truth of the facts that it contains.

"Posterity will, at all events, form their own judgment on this terrible event; but if it be a matter of consequence that it be transmitted to them free from all circumstances engendered by error or malignity, of how much greater importance is it to myself, that I should preserve the fruit of my services, the confidence of my Sovereign, and the esteem of my contemporaries?

"Deign, most Holy Father, to lend your succour

to the honour of one of your children, who, in the unfortunate position in which he stands, will, at all events, be in some degree compensated by the happiness of having had an opportunity of contemplating at a near distance a degree of virtue more than human.

"Humiliating myself at the feet of your Holiness, permit me, most Holy Father, to express the homage of my profound veneration; and with earnest anxiety to solicit your Apostolic benediction.

"I am, with the most profound respect,

"Most Holy Father,

"Your Holiness's most humble, most submissive, and most obedient Son and Servant,

"LE LIEUTENANT-GÉNÉRAL B. RADET.

"*Paris, Rue Montesquieu, No.* 7,
*le* 12 *Septembre,* 1814."

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*A Correct and Detailed Account, by the Baron Radet, Lieutenant-General of Gendarmerie, of the Abduction of Pope Pius VII., and of his Journey to Florence.*

"Having been charged in quality of Inspector-General with the organization of the gendarmerie of Tuscany, and being on my tour of duty in the depart-

ment of the Arno, I was at Peschia when I received a telegraphic order from the Emperor at Schoenbrunn, which the Prince Borghese transmitted to me by a special courier. By the order I was desired on receipt of it to go immediately to Rome, after having made arrangements to be followed with all possible speed by 400 mounted gendarmes, who had been drafted a short time before from the legions of the interior.

"I departed without delay, accompanied only by two subalterns.

"Having received no further instructions, I was the more inclined to imagine I had been dispatched to Rome for the purpose of re-establishing order; inasmuch as I had recently been employed to organize the gendarmerie of the kingdom of Naples and the grand duchy of Tuscany. Under this probable supposition I made provisional arrangements for the police along the route, leaving directions at every post for Colonel Coste, who followed me, so that in addition to his previous orders, he might be guided accordingly.

"I arrived in Rome on the night of the 12th of June, 1809, and communicated my instructions to the General Count Miollis, Governor-General of Rome and the Roman States, and President of the Consulta.

"General Miollis, after explaining to me the existing

state of affairs, and giving me orders relating to my line of duty, put me in charge of the general direction of the police of the Roman States.

"The recent change of the Government, the protests of his Holiness, and most especially the Bulls of Excommunication of the 10th and 11th of June, 1809, were producing a profound sensation on the public mind; so that the action of the old Government being paralysed, and various people's interests injured by the birth of the new, there had ensued a sort of interregnum and suspension of the executive power, that afforded an opportunity of disorder and *brigandage*, which was particularly favoured by the climate and the nature of the country. Preventive measures were accordingly had recourse to, but in consequence of the appearance, about the end of June within sight of Rome, of a considerable Anglo-Sicilian fleet, containing troops for disembarkation, which ships cruised there for the space of three days, all the disposable troops in the Roman States were collected upon the heights above Velletri or were marched upon Naples; while a few days afterwards the fleet above mentioned took possession of the islands of Capri, Ischia, and Procida.

"Moreover, the presence of this fleet and the departure of the troops had inspired with greater auda-

city the various bands of marauders in the neighbourhood, who, finding themselves unchecked, instantly spread abroad in every direction, and ravaged the country in considerable numbers, especially towards the Abruzzi mountains, including the territory about Piperno, Frosinone, Norcia, &c. Not a single public road was free from them, and robberies were so frequent everywhere, even in Rome, that the court of the Consulta determined to remove their sittings to Spoleto. In the mean time all our force that remained in Rome amounted only to 500 men in garrison and 100 mounted gendarmes, so that it was impossible, with such slender means at our command, to adopt any effectual repressive measure.

"At this epoch, while the Emperor was upon the Danube on the eve of events of the highest moment, Italy was without troops, Bavaria in a state of insurrection, and the Tyrol having risen in arms, was carrying its ravages over Ferrara, Bologna, and the duchy of Urbino, even up to the gates of Florence. Then the battle of Wagram took place, and peace was the consequence, though it is well known how much, in spite of that peace, it cost to restore order.

"From the above succinct sketch may be comprehended our situation in Rome, and the vigilant mea-

sures we were obliged to adopt in order to maintain our position, especially on the days of the festivals of S. John and of S. Peter. On the morning of the 4th of July, the Governor-General, seeing the state of turbulence was at its height, sent for me, and after entering upon the state of our position in detail, and dwelling on the consequences of the general fermentation which was manifesting itself under symptoms the most alarming to the public safety and the fortunes of the French in Italy, he proceeded to say, 'that having already, in his endeavours to restore tranquillity, exhausted every possible measure of severity, no other means remained in his power than to remove his Holiness from Rome, to carry which important operation into effect he had selected myself.'

"I observed to General Miollis in reply, that an act of such a nature could by no possibility be performed without written instructions from a superior nor without mature reflection, and that at all events the aid of troops was necessary. General Miollis rejoined, 'that written orders for the purpose should be sent me the same evening, and that troops also should be provided; in the mean time,' he said, 'I must make such dispositions as would prevent the slightest suspicion of what was about to be done.' Taking then my leave

in a state of considerable emotion in consequence of finding myself charged with the enterprise, I had shut myself up in my chamber for the purpose of reflecting on the means of counteracting the ill effects likely to proceed from it, when my written instructions arrived, and I found myself at once placed in the cruel alternative of being compelled either to infringe upon the most sacred rights, or to violate my oaths by disobedience. Oppressed by a painful sentiment of repugnance mixed with fear, in consequence of the position I was in, the more I sought to extricate myself the less my imagination assisted me, so that my only hope of being able to avoid the execution of the order I had received depended on the want of troops; but towards the evening the Governor-General came himself to announce to me that the same night there would arrive a party of Neapolitan soldiers, and that I must have my plan of operations ready to carry into execution the night following.

"I made some fresh observations to the General, who, after having recapitulated the dangers of our position and the necessity of arresting at once, as it were by a thunder-clap, the torrent of disorder and the effusion of blood that must otherwise inevitably overwhelm us, represented to me that, as military men, we were beings

essentially obedient and passive, responsible even with our lives for the execution of the orders given us by our superiors. To this I had not a word to reply; honour and my oaths dictated to me my duty, and I determined to execute, so soon as the troops arrived, my written instructions, whatever they might be. In fact, there arrived the same night a battalion of Neapolitan recruits, amounting to about 800 men, of whom a portion were without arms; however, being informed of their arrival, and all manner of retrogression being out of the question, I then arranged the plan of my operations, according to a mode conformable with the magnitude of the object, admitting meanwhile no person whatever to my confidence, and causing every one of those whose services I had occasion for to act the part assigned to them without knowing what they were about. I communicated my plan to General Miollis, who verbally approved it, referring at the same time to the extraordinary degree of importance attached to its success.

"At daybreak, on the morning of the 5th, I made my principal arrangements, with a view to distract the public attention from what was going forward, by means of small patrols of men, who were made to cross one another in the streets, and by other dispositions

relating to the police. Meanwhile, I kept the troops confined to the barracks the whole day, in order to show to the public and the persons at the Quirinale Palace the appearance of a greater degree of security; in short, I used all manner of means and pretences likely to hush suspicion. At nine o'clock at night I summoned to my presence, one after another, the military chiefs, and gave them their orders. At ten o'clock my whole force was collected in the Piazza de' Santi Apostoli and in the barracks in the Piazza della Pilotta, near the Monte Cavallo, which latter spot was to be the centre of my operations.

"I myself went to the barracks in the Piazza della Pilotta, and saw that my orders had been complied with; thence I proceeded to the Piazza de' Santi Apostoli close by, and made my military dispositions; after which I returned to my own house, accompanied by two of the principal chiefs, Colonel Siry, commandant of the city, and Colonel Costé, commandant of the gendarmerie. When I arrived at my house, finding the Governor-General waiting there for me, I communicated to him the arrangements I had made, requesting at the same time my orders in writing, which he then gave me, namely—'to arrest the Cardinal Pacca, and, in case of opposition on the part of the Pope, to arrest

his Holiness also, and to convey both the Pope and the Cardinal to Florence.' On the perusal of this conditional order I was desirous of making some observations, but had no opportunity to do so, for the Governor-General was already gone; and it was now eleven o'clock at night, everything being already organised, and ready for action. I then descended to the Piazza della Pilotta and the Piazza de' Santi Apostoli, where I myself conducted the patrols and placed them in their proper posts, as well as the detachments, the guards, and the sentries. Meanwhile the Governor-General, in order to hold in check the inhabitants of the Trastevere, had caused all the bridges of the Tiber, and the Castle S. Angelo, to be occupied by the small Neapolitan battalion under the orders of Gen. Pignatelli Cerchiara.

" Each chief of the detachments appointed to act together in concert was informed of the precise moment determined for the escalade, and the signal that had been agreed upon. The time for the above simultaneous movement was originally fixed for an hour after midnight by the clock of the Quirinale, though the operation was retarded in consequence of my having learnt that an officer of the Pope's guard was placed on vidette every night upon the salient tower near the great entrance-gate of the palace, and that he was removed

always at daybreak. Accordingly I changed my orders, and having sub-divided the posts about the environs of the Fountain of Trevi, and placed guards upon the doors of the principal neighbouring churches to prevent an alarm being given by the bells, I watched till the vidette officer upon the tower had retired, and at thirty-five minutes after two o'clock in the morning I gave the signal. While a detachment of thirty men escaladed the garden wall near the great gate behind the quadrangle, called Cortile della Panetteria, for the purpose of guarding the issues of that cortile and the subterranean passages at the angle near the Holy Chapel, and another detachment of twenty-five men guarded the little gate which is behind the street that descends to the Lavatojo, Colonel Siry, with a detachment of fifty men, entered the palace by escalade through the window of an empty chamber in the centre of the contiguous buildings occupied by the Sovereign Pontiff's attendants. For my own part, I had proposed to mount, with forty men, upon the tower at the extremity of the roofing of the Dataria, and thence penetrate into the apartments, but our two ladders having broken, I was obliged to endeavour to enter by the great gate of the Quirinale Palace. The Governor-General, having heard of my accident, came in his cloak, with his aide-de-camp,

Guyon, to assist me by his advice; but, seeing the new measures I had adopted, he retired into a building belonging to the Colonna Palace, fronting towards the Quirinale, where the ordinary guard was stationed under arms.

"Colonel Siry had now succeeded in making his way to the grand cortile of the palace. I heard a great noise, and cries of alarm, and I could distinguish the words 'To arms! Traitors!'[1] At this moment the clock struck three, and the bell of the Holy Chapel was rung violently, which sound, that however only lasted about two minutes, made those persons about me fear it was a signal for the tocsin. Having quieted their apprehensions, I sent for twenty or twenty-five men, who, having been placed at the gate near the Lavatojo, had been unable to make an entrance there in consequence of its being walled up in the inside.

"While I was occupied in forcing open the little gate belonging to one of the battants of the great gate of the Quirinale Palace, Colonel Siry, who had got into the inner court, sent persons to open it, and thus having got entrance into the palace, I immediately collected together my own detachment, strengthened by

[1] All' arme! Traditori!

twenty men, and uniting them to those of Colonel Siry, placed a guard at the entrance of the gate, and marched towards a body of workmen, who, posted in an angle on the right hand at the extremity of the cortile, appeared inclined to make resistance. Having dispersed them, I ascended the staircase, and proceeded from apartment to apartment till I came to the ante-chamber of the throne-room, called the 'Chamber of Sanctifications.' There I found the Swiss Guard of his Holiness, forty strong, including the captain, all armed, and ranged in good order at the end of the apartment. I called in my men, and summoned them to lay down their arms. They made no resistance. I disarmed them, and had them conducted to their own guard-room, and kept in sight there.

"From this chamber I passed to the Great Hall that contains the throne, where there were several doors; but having with me a confidential person, acquainted with the interior of the palace, he showed me the door of the Pope's apartment, through which I was necessarily obliged to pass, in order to enter the apartment of the Cardinal Pacca. Finding myself now near his Holiness, I knocked at the door above mentioned, but nobody appeared. I knocked again, demanding entrance in the name of the Emperor, but there was the same silence.

"Time pressed, and I was busy thinking of other means to reach the apartment of Cardinal Pacca without having to pass through that of his Holiness, when I heard the sound of a key turning in the lock; and at the same time, the door opening, a tall young priest dressed in black presented himself. I asked him his name. He replied, 'Pacca.' 'His Eminence?' said I. 'No,' replied the other; 'his nephew.' At the name of Pacca I could not refrain from feeling an internal emotion that inspired me with the hope that the object of my mission was terminated. I asked him 'Where was the Cardinal?' He made an inclination of the head and retired near the partition, preserving a silence meanwhile that it was easy to interpret. I advanced a step, and looking to the left-hand side, perceived at the end of a small and very narrow corridor a chamber, where there were lights and a number of people in it, standing up. I directed my steps towards this chamber, passing on the way thither several ecclesiastics dressed in different colours, but in simple costume. I immediately took off my hat and carried it in my hand, and having arrived at the door at the entrance of this chamber, I saw his Holiness sitting at his writing-desk, dressed in his pontifical habits, and surrounded by about ten persons, of whom the greater part were

venerable-looking personages, whom I supposed to be ministers, grand dignitaries, or prelates of his Holiness.

"Let any one fancy himself placed under the circumstances in which I was at present, and so long as he be not entirely divested of moral and human sentiment, he may estimate the painfulness of my position. As yet I had received no explicit order to take possession of the Pope's person! A holy respect for that sacred doubly crowned Head diffused itself through my whole being, and, finding myself followed by an armed troop in his presence, paralysed my intellectual faculties. I felt an involuntary, oppressive movement in all my limbs. I had not foreseen the present dilemma, and knew not how to extricate myself. What was I to do? What was I to say? How was I to begin? There was the difficulty of my mission.

"My troop had entered the apartment along with myself, but the presence of the Holy Father, of his Sacred College, and the holy spot where I stood, commanded respect and decency. I retired accordingly, and having stationed the men in the throne-room, ordered patrols to be detached for the purpose of keeping guard in the palace. Deeply embarrassed by the duty I had to perform, so that I might neither compromise the success of the enterprise, nor the Governor,

nor myself, I took advantage of the present retrograde movement of my troop to send with all possible haste Cardini, the quarter-master of gendarmerie, to inform the Governor-General that I was in the Pope's presence, but that I had not yet been able to find Cardinal Pacca, with whose person I was unacquainted. I therefore requested further orders from the Governor-General. Having delayed the progress of my troop for some time, I left them under the charge of a few officers, while I myself, with the rest of the officers, including the subalterns of gendarmerie, entered the Pope's apartment, hat in hand, in the most respectful manner possible, each individual bowing to the Pope, as all formed line within the door of the apartment. These arrangements lasted about five minutes, when the Quarter-master Cardini arrived, and communicated to me secretly an order from the Governor to arrest the Pope as well as Cardinal Pacca, and to convey both forthwith out of Rome. Severe as the order appeared, I was obliged to obey.

" Accordingly, I advanced respectfully a few paces nearer the Holy Father, and placing one hand on my breast, holding my hat with the other, and bowing to his Holiness, I said, ' that much as it cost my heart, my oaths and sacred duties imposed upon me the obli-

gation of fulfilling with regard to his Holiness a mission sadly severe.' At these words the Pope rose from his seat, and looking at me with an air of imposing dignity, such as is familiar to those persons acquainted with him, said, 'Wherefore do you come at this hour, thus to trouble my habitation and my repose? What is it that you want?' I answered, 'Most Holy Father, I come in the name of the Government to repeat to your Holiness their determination that you must officially renounce your temporal sovereignty.' The Pope, casting his eyes upwards, elevating his hand at the same time, and without showing any appearance of surprise, rejoined, 'In no deed that I have done have I acted without invoking the light of the Holy Ghost; before you compel me to retract you shall cut me in pieces!' I besought his Holiness to 'consider the state of the country and the circumstances under which his resistance would be the cause of disorder, and of shedding the blood of his children everywhere; and I added, that I felt persuaded he would certainly be desirous of preventing the horrors of a revolt that must infallibly end in a massacre.' His Holiness replied, 'that he disapproved every act tending to trouble the public order and cause the shedding of human blood; that he was afflicted, but innocent of what I told him,

and that he invoked the aid of the Almighty to re-establish order in his capital and in his States.' He further observed, 'that he was far from expecting to see all the evils I had described, or be treated himself so disgracefully and ungratefully by the chief of an amiable nation, to which he had shown so special proofs of his particular affection.' I replied, 'that we should never cease to reverence his Holiness as our Sovereign Pontiff, and to consider him the supreme chief of the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church; that such was the law, such was the wish and order of our sovereign; that on our hearts was engraven religion, fear, the love of God, and the love of our neighbour.' The Holy Father answered, 'I pardon him nevertheless, and all of you.'

"Finding that I could not obtain from the Holy Father the abdication of his temporal sovereignty, and pressed by time, I found myself compelled to declare to his Holiness, that 'my orders placed me under the melancholy necessity of conveying him away from Rome.' The Pope replied, 'Be it so; but I yield to force; at least you will allow me and the persons who are to accompany me two hours to make preparations.' I replied, 'that my instructions left me no power to do so;' but I added, 'that if his Holiness would deign to

give me a list of the persons he wished to go with him, I would immediately transmit it to the governor-general, and request his orders on the subject.' His Holiness, who was then standing up, seated himself again at his writing-desk, and with his own hand wrote the list, which he did me the honour to confide to me. I then called an officer of gendarmerie, named Defilippi, to whom, in the presence of the Pope, and all the persons present, I gave the list, charging him to carry it to his Excellency General Count Miollis; also to inform the general of the Holy Father's wishes, and to return to me with the general's orders. The above-mentioned officer returned in less than ten minutes, and while I was still in the presence of his Holiness, presented himself with the general's answer, the same that I had already received secretly from the Quartermaster General Cardini. This answer, which he now repeated aloud, was word for word as follows: 'The order of his Excellency the General is, that the Pope and Cardinal Pacca must depart instantly with General Radet. The other persons will follow afterwards.' I bowed to his Holiness, who arose from his seat without speaking, and taking up a book which was upon his writing-desk, descended the step. The Pope appeared to be suffering; I advanced and supported him by the arm. I

asked his Holiness 'if the Cardinal Pacca was present;' he answered in the affirmative. I beckoned to an officer, and desired him to request his Eminence to prepare immediately for the journey; the Cardinal, dressed in a plain cassock, went with the officer through an adjoining chamber of the Pope, the one behind his Holiness's writing-desk, and proceeded to his own room, which was merely separated by a partition, to change his dress.

"I assisted his Holiness to go into his own chamber, holding him up by the arm. At the door I necessarily drew my own arm back in order to allow the Pope full liberty to pass through, but his hand being accidentally at the time within mine, I could not resist the sentiment of veneration by which I was forcibly penetrated, and I piously kissed that sacred hand and the pontifical ring it bore.

"The Pope had now entered his chamber. I was close to him, the Cardinal had gone away, and no person had followed us. I profited by the occasion to propose to his Holiness to retire and give him an opportunity of confiding his secrets, and delivering any valuables that he might wish to preserve, to whomsoever he might think fit. His Holiness replied, 'To him who is careless of life, the goods of this world are of little

value indeed.' The Holy Father then seemed overcome, and sat down on a chair at the head of his bed, which bed had neither heading nor curtains; I then went back to the chamber whence I had come.

"I returned to his Holiness, and sent to inform Cardinal Pacca that the Holy Father was ready. His Eminence followed me with Colonel Coste. The Pope, with a book in his hand, was waiting for us; I had the honour to give him my arm; we descended the staircase and crossed the great quadrangle. The Pope, when we had arrived at the great gate facing towards the Piazza di Monte Cavallo, stopped and blessed the city of Rome. The majority of my little troop, together with some of the patrols and the guard of the Colonna Palace, were drawn up at different parts of the piazza. A profound silence reigned. It wanted five minutes to four o'clock in the morning. My troop also received the benediction of the Holy Father with profound respect. There was not a single inhabitant either in the piazza or at the windows of the houses, at least no person permitted himself to be seen. I was astonished, neither was I the only person surprised by the spectacle—this military demonstration, the calm immoveable appearance of the soldiers, was silently impressive, inspiring with a more profound sentiment, and

giving a moral expression to an act which, from its nature, bore the double character of audacity and veneration.

"My carriage was on the spot; the Pope approached it, though the Cardinal Pacca got in first; having assisted the Holy Father to mount the steps, I myself got upon the seat outside in front, Quartermaster Cardini placed himself at my side, while I ordered the Colonel Costé to take the command of the troops and preserve order in the Quirinale Palace. I then bid the coachman drive towards the Porta Pia, but to turn short of the latter gate, and going out by the Porta Salaria, thence to coast the walls as far as the Porta del Popolo. Thither we were escorted by the gendarmerie; and there, having sent back my own horses, we stopped to harness the post-horses which, in consequence of orders I had previously given, were on the spot.

"While we were thus changing horses, I did all I could to distract the attention of his Holiness from his misfortunes. I asked if his Holiness found himself well? Whether he was still suffering? And I entreated that, since he was not provided with everything necessary for the journey, he would deign to dispose of my services, and avail himself of the provisions I had prepared expressly for his Holiness and his Emi-

nence the Cardinal Pacca. The Pope replied, 'I am well enough. The Lord suffered more than I suffer.' Then opening his snuff-box, that contained no more than a couple of pinches of the fine snuff he was in the habit of taking, I immediately took a bottle of my own stock and filled the box, which attention that I was happy to be able to offer seemed to please his Holiness, at the same time he confessed to me that he had not thought of taking with him anything at all, and drawing from his pocket a small piece of silver, and with extreme complaisance showing it me at the end of his fingers, said, 'See this, it is all I possess.' Extracting from a pocket of the seat where I sat a bag of gold and silver, I begged his Holiness to accept it, telling him it belonged to myself, and that I entreated him to dispose of it for his own use, and for alms. The Pope thanked me, but refused; nor was it till we had passed through the town of Radicofani that he accepted a trifle to give in alms.

"At this moment an officer, who had been dispatched from the Quirinale Palace, came to report to me that some of the police had been detected pillaging the Holy Chapel, and that the principal culprit had been arrested; upon which I ordered him to be immediately confined in prison, and tried by a court martial.

The Pope on hearing the circumstance, observed 'that the culprit was one of the police, not a soldier; for a French soldier,' said he, 'would never have committed a crime of a like nature.' Moreover, his Holiness, ever alive to the ineffably benevolent impression of his own sacred character, asked me 'whether during the attack on the Quirinale Palace blood had been shed?' On my replying, 'not a drop,' 'God be praised!' said he. * * * We then drove off.

"I had given orders to have at each relay on the road a brigade of mounted gendarmes in a state for inspection, and had further desired them to have post-horses ready precisely at an hour specified to each brigade.

"We took the road to Florence escorted by a detachment of the gendarmerie of Rome. Before arriving at Storta, I desired one of the gendarmes to gallop forward, and have the escort and the post-horses ready. I did the same thing at every relay, and everywhere found my orders scrupulously executed. As the Roman postilions had had time at the Porta del Popolo to know the Pope was in the carriage, the moment before we drove away from Storta they fell on their knees, and asked his Holiness to give them benediction, which he did accordingly. Previous to reaching the

second relay, his Holiness was taken with the cholic. I had the carriage stopped. The Pope got out, and was relieved. His Holiness seemed very uneasy about the arrival of his suite, but I comforted him by observing that I had no manner of doubt General Miollis would perform his promise, and at the same time I ordered the subaltern of the escort returning to Storta to write in my name, and press the General to send some linen for his Holiness by the attendants.

"When we arrived at the relay in the mountains near Viterbo, his Holiness and his Eminence got out of the carriage to take refreshment in the post-house, an isolated and very dirty tavern. I found fault in consequence to the mistress of the house, who served the fried eggs; without being at all disconcerted, she said to the Pope, 'Your Eminence need not be afraid of eating here, for several persons of distinction have done so before; and the most Holy Father, when he returned from France, blessed our house.' This woman was telling a lie to the Pope while she thought she was speaking to a cardinal.

"We arrived this day, Thursday, the 6th of July, 1809, before ten o'clock at night, at the post-house at Radicofani, a large inn, situated on the road side, below the village of the same name, which is within the Tus-

can frontier. I had observed that our long journey, and the Pope's illness, had made a visible alteration on his countenance. I was deeply sensible of his situation, and the constraint imposed upon my feelings by my duty afflicted me. In the course of life, there are extraordinary and very difficult moments, which I leave to the imagination of those who are desirous of comparing such circumstances, with the dangers and alarms, and the cruel penalties attached to my present mission.

"So soon as the carriage stopped, I sent to demand lodgings in the inn for two cardinals and their suite, and my escort then advancing, turned several people out of the vestibule, and bringing the carriage close to the door of the kitchen, shut the porte-cochère behind us. I then got down from my seat in front, and giving my hand to the Supreme Chief of the Church, assisted him to ascend the staircase. The quarter-master and Cardinal Pacca followed us; and while they went into the chamber destined for his Eminence, his Holiness and I entered the room where they had prepared refreshment.

"I now immediately began to wait upon his Holiness, and might here mention a great many particulars of what I did while my heart was in a state of overflowing;

but I will satisfy myself, and trust to the Holy Father's memory to do justice to all my words and acts under the circumstances in question. The recollection of the duty that I then fulfilled gives me, at all events, reason to rejoice in the happiness I felt at that moment. I will say no more than that when his Holiness spoke to me several times of his own state of inquietude about the arrival of his suite—for he was unwell, fatigued, and without a change of linen—I suffered at his situation perhaps more than he did himself, and used my utmost endeavours to encourage him. I also sent a letter, by a courier passing on his way to Rome, to General Miollis, in order to remind him of his promise.

"The Pope, feeling himself growing weak, expressed his desire to pass the night at the inn, and wait the arrival of his suite. What to say in reply I hardly knew; but the possibility of his Holiness becoming dangerously ill, and had I obliged him to continue the journey, even perhaps dying in my custody; which event, had it happened, I certainly could never have survived, added to the reflection, that in thus undertaking a mission which it was out of my power to refuse, I had actually put my life at stake, caused my feelings to overcome my sense of responsibility, and urged me

to decide in the affirmative. His Holiness then becoming more calm, went to prayers, and I retired.

"This delay having given time for the news of the Pope's arrest to get abroad, all the people of the place and the environs hastened to the inn, as I foresaw they would do, to see him; and a great crowd assembled about the door. Having, therefore, taken measures for the security and for the repose of the Holy Father, I went upstairs, and placing a mattress outside his chamber door, I lay upon it all night.

"On the morning of Friday the 7th, looking out of the window and seeing a group of friars standing upon the hillock between the inn and the village of Radicofani, I went down stairs in order to ascertain their object in assembling there; and for that purpose sent a subaltern of the gendarmerie to inquire. The monks refusing to give any reason, I sent a message, desiring them to return to their convent, in order that the Pope, provided he wished to go there or to send a messenger, might find them in the way when called upon. They then retired immediately.

"The Holy Father had by this time got up, so I entered his apartment, and offering him my respects, inquired after his health. He replied that he had passed a good night, and found himself much better.

I then asked him to give me his orders, and left him at his prayers.

"The day meanwhile was advancing, and as his Holiness still manifested great inquietude at the non-arrival of his suite, I frequently looked out of the window, whence the eye commands a distance of more than four leagues towards Rome. At last, about three o'clock in the afternoon, perceiving a long way off two carriages, I hastened joyfully to inform the Pope; and though the nearer they approached the more I was persuaded they belonged to the suite of the Holy Father, nevertheless, in order to be certain, I dispatched a gendarme, whom I directed if it were so to put his hat on the point of his sabre and elevate it above his head. So soon as he had reached the carriages he made the above-mentioned signal, of which I instantly hastened to inform his Holiness, who seemed much pleased.

"About four o'clock the carriages arrived, containing—the first, the Prelate Doria and the Abbé Pacca, of whom I have had occasion to speak before; in the second were his Holiness's physician and his valet-de-chambre, with his trunks and packages. The above-mentioned gentlemen having entered the inn, had the satisfaction of the Pope's benediction, and having taken refreshment, I then received orders from his Holiness to

proceed; and accordingly, we left Radicofani at five o'clock, leaving the third carriage to follow at leisure. I was anxious to hasten our departure, in order to arrive at Sienna before the morning, and thereby avoid passing through the city during the daytime. We had scarcely proceeded a mile from Radicofani when some mendicant friars, coming up to the carriage, asked to speak to the Pope, who having given me his orders, I caused the vehicle to stop. The friars then addressed his Holiness; and it was on this occasion that I had the happiness to prevail upon the Holy Father to accept a few pieces of silver for alms, as before stated.

"As our delay at Radicofani had, as I said before, given time for the news of the Pope's arrival to get abroad, we found the road everywhere crowded with people. The villages especially were thronged with numbers that impeded our progress, to all of whom the Holy Father gave his benediction. At the relay at S. Quirico the vast multitude clambered upon the carriage in clusters, standing behind, clinging upon the wheels, and mounting upon the seat outside, and upon the imperial; they even got upon the horses' backs while they were being harnessed. My gendarmes were afraid to move their horses, for fear of treading on the people; while, from the position where I sat in front, I could

see the inhabitants of the town flocking towards us from all points, and the crowd rapidly increasing about us. I attentively watched the countenances of the most manly-looking, and endeavoured to listen to what they were saying; but the noise and shouting were so general and confused that I could not catch a single distinct word, till I heard one man cry out, in a louder voice than all the rest, "Bisogna salvarlo!"[1] I drew my sword instantly, and, pushing off all the persons who had got on the seat round about me, and those that stuck outside the vehicle, giving orders at the same time to the postilions to push the rest off the horses, I bid the gendarmes clear the way in front. They did so, while the postilions cracked their whips, and we escaped without any accident, as it were by a miracle, obliged as we were to pierce the immense crowd that extended to a considerable distance. Going out of the village at a spot where the road makes a curve, for the purpose of avoiding a very steep descent, the horses were prevented by the crowd from taking a sufficient sweep, and the carriage was on the point of being overturned at the most dangerous part of all, and of falling over an excessively high bank, without pali-

[1] Hurrah for a rescue.

sades, parapet, or rails, into the gardens below; but the gendarmes, galloping in front, rendered us their timely assistance and saved us.

"From the relay at Monterone I sent a gendarme forward to carry orders to the gendarmerie at Sienna. A few moments afterwards a confidential person brought me a letter from the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, in answer to one I had written during our stay at Radicofani. The gentleman was so fatigued, and, in fact, so sore at having ridden post continually upon different sorts of saddles, that he was unable to follow us for a considerable time. We arrived at Sienna at about five o'clock in the morning, and passed through the town and suburbs without being recognized; in fact we saw nobody but a few artisans and workmen who appeared to be on the way to their respective vocations. The doors of the houses were closed, and of the above few persons those who came near contented themselves with staring inquisitively, without saluting us.

"While we were changing horses at Ombrone the captain of the gendarmerie of that place gave me an account of the progress of the great insurrection, and told me that several bands of the insurgents infested the road between Sienna and Montepulciano, and along the Maremma; he also said that they were in league with

other banditti of the Roman States belonging to the neighbourhood of Cava; and he added that they had plundered several travellers in the middle of the day, especially the evening before upon the road near the relay at Monterone. As it was probable from his account that some of the marauders in the vicinity of Casentino might now be between Sienna and Florence, I became apprehensive for the safety of the persons of the Pope, the Cardinals, and their suite, and accordingly took the measures I conceived most likely to prevent the possibility of danger.

"The Pope was fatigued and still in a state of suffering when we arrived at Poggibonzi. His Holiness having got out of the carriage at the best inn in the place, passed some time at prayers, breakfasted, and took about three hours' repose. After I had given my orders and performed the rest of my duty, I also got two hours' rest. I then got up to breakfast; and we were still at table when the chamberlain of the Holy Father, who occupied the seat in front outside the second carriage, came to inform me of the flattering manner in which his Holiness had expressed himself with regard to the attentions and extreme complaisance he had received from us. I went to the Holy Father to inquire the state of his health, and take his orders

for our departure. His Holiness deigned to testify to myself the same expressions of satisfaction, and promised me, in compliance with my request, the honour of accompanying him again whenever he might return to Rome; adding that he was ready to proceed on our journey whenever I pleased.

"When I had got everything ready, the Holy Father gave us, together with the people of the house, his benediction. I gave him my arm to descend the staircase, and also assisted him to get into the carriage, which was drawn up under the pent-house in front of the inn. We departed, and descended the principal street, which is very steep and narrow, while an immense crowd filled the space before us, and great numbers of people appeared at the windows, at the doors of the houses, and at every outlet and thoroughfare. Many were also mounted on the roofs and on the church steeple. The Holy Father gave all of them his benediction. On arriving at the bridge we saw a considerable gathering upon the main road, and in the adjoining fields and enclosures, while along all the neighbouring small roads, crowds (amounting altogether, as near as I can estimate, to three thousand people, including more than three-fourth parts of females) came pouring in every direction towards us.

" The bridge of Poggibonzi, in consequence of the turning of the road at both extremities, describes an angle at its ascent as well as at its descent, so that, after passing over, in consequence of the way being obstructed by the crowd, the postilions, with their six horses, were unable to make a sufficiently extensive curve to keep the carriage in the middle of the road at the point of flexure, and wheeling round too suddenly, the near hind-wheel of the carriage struck against the stone work of the bridge, while the horses were impetuously rushing forwards. At this moment the axle-tree snapped short off between the carriage and the inside of the nave, and the vehicle was immediately overturned. Notwithstanding I was thrown out of the seat in front, where I was sitting, that I hurt my wrist, and suffered also, though I know not how it happened, a severe contusion on my right leg, of which I still bear the marks—being, nevertheless, more uneasy about his Holiness than at my own fall, I got up with difficulty, and went to the door of the vehicle, which in the mean time had been lifted up off the ground. The Pope and the Cardinal got out. My first care was to ask his Holiness if he were hurt. 'Not in the least,' he replied; 'neither is his Eminence; though,' added his Holiness, 'I think that I have broken for you some-

thing in the little pocket in the side of the carriage.' Re-assured by this answer, I hastened to the carriage which followed us, and had stopped upon the bridge, and I requested the Prelate Doria and the Abbé Pacca, who were in it, to get out to give place to the Pope and the Cardinal. The Prelate Doria made some objections; but as I insisted in a pressing tone, both gentlemen got out. I begged his Holiness and his Eminence to take their seats inside the latter carriage, while I, so soon as they were seated, mounted on the seat in front, and sat beside the Pope's chamberlain; I then ordered the quartermaster, Cardini, to have my own carriage taken back to the post-house to be repaired, to procure from thence another carriage for the Prelate and the Abbé, and to make the best of his way to overtake us.

"At the moment of our departure the crowd had increased to an excessive degree; they blocked up the way, and so great was the throng that the gendarmes were unable to procure a passage. At this crisis I succeeded, by means of a very simple resource, in getting what I could not have obtained by force: hearing a confused cry of 'Most Holy Father, give us your sacred benediction,' proceeding from all directions, I took advantage of the circumstance to request the

Pope to comply with the desire of the people, calling out myself at the same time as loud as I could, 'Down on your knees, down on your knees, the Holy Father is going to give you his benediction.' Meanwhile I prevailed upon the people in front to move out of the way, by calling 'Away to the right,' and by indicating simultaneously by a motion of my arm whither they were to go. The gendarmes seconded the movement, and the crowd having knelt down as I desired, and having myself called out 'Silence,' and at the same time requested his Holiness to bless the people, which the Holy Father deigned to do accordingly, adding the words, 'Courage and prayers, my children.' Whereupon, seeing now the road in front sufficiently clear, and profiting by the moment while the Holy Father was giving his benediction, I ordered the postilions to crack their whips and drive on, which order they executed. Although the rise of the ground was considerable, we proceeded at a very quick pace, while the multitude ran after us so long as any chance of keeping up to the carriage remained, and then, when all hope was over, stopped and turned back in despair.

"Having arrived two or three miles from the bridge, seeing that no person followed us, we slackened our

pace for a short time, and when the second carriage overtook us, we continued our journey.

"At S. Casciano a considerable crowd of persons were waiting our arrival. As we passed along the town at a foot's pace we should have had a great deal of trouble to rid ourselves of the multitude, but the benedictions of the Holy Father were of excellent good effect, and, though groups and assemblages of people were continually in the way, caused them to retire in an instant.

"Before arriving at the Certosa, the Lieutenant-Colonel of Gendarmerie, Le Crosnier, came to meet us, and communicated to me the orders of the Grand Duchess relative to my future proceedings. Precautions had been already taken to prevent any assemblage of the people, so that I had nothing else to do than conduct the carriages up the rising ground to the Certosa, where his Holiness and his Eminence were received by the Director-General of the Police of Tuscany. It was now night; the Director-General of Police desired me to accompany him immediately to the Grand Duchess, and accordingly we departed without my being allowed time to see his Holiness, to whom I expected to return. I perceived, however, not

without a lively sense of regret, that it was ordered otherwise.

" In the road below the Certosa I got into the carriage with the Director-General of the Police, and thence we proceeded by cross roads to the Poggio Palace, near Florence. There I was introduced to the Grand Duchess, to whom I rendered an account of my proceedings, while the Grand Duchess expressed her own intentions, by intimating to me that my presence was necessary in Rome. I took my leave, and having found the carriage that I had hired at Poggibonzi, I went to the inn, whence, after taking twelve hours' rest, I returned to Rome without stopping on the road, with the exception of once at Poggibonzi, where I recovered my own carriage, which I had left there to be repaired.

" Such as I have related was the share I bore in the great event in question; I call as witnesses General Miollis, my assistants, and every other person acquainted with the facts. Most especially I appeal to his Holiness himself, and to Cardinal Pacca.

" The mission with which I was charged, from the importance and peculiarity of its object, was of a nature to engage the general attention of the world, and render the circumstances attending its execution liable to be

disfigured. Those circumstances, so far as relates to the part I performed, I have now re-established in all the exactitude of truth. Obliged by my profession to comply with orders emanating from superior authority, I did everything in my power to soften the rigour of my instructions, notwithstanding I was unable to suspend or prevent the execution. The exalted duty I had to fulfil imposed upon me the double obligation of using the most profound respect united to various acts of attention, and at the same time exerting vigilance in the most delicate manner compatible with the rigorous performance of my duty. Such was the line of conduct I took the utmost pains to adhere to; if the Holy Father have not blotted from his memory the principal incidents of those cruel moments, his Holiness will at least recall to his mind the many marks of interest and approbation he was pleased to express towards myself on several different occasions. The precautions I was obliged to take were necessarily severe; but the danger, it is to be remembered, was imminent. Above all, the immense responsibility that hung over my head, and the certainty of my being judged, less according to the sagacity of the measures adopted than by their success, are to be taken into consideration.

"For the space of seventeen years that I have been

a general-officer of gendarmerie, my character is too well known in France, in Italy, and in Germany, in consequence of the missions and organizations with which I have been charged, to allow me not to endeavour to preserve intact the reputation that I have acquired during thirty-five effective years of hard service and eleven campaigns. My honour is the most precious inheritance that I can transmit to my numerous family, and that, I venture to say, I will transmit to them in all its integrity. My family, and all the friends to whom I have the advantage of being well known, are already aware, that although I have been obliged to take a part in the melancholy event of which I have now given a faithful account, it was not my own voluntary choice, but owing to the casualty of my position.

(Signed) "Le Lieutenant-Général des Armées
"du Roi,
"B. RADET.

"*Paris, the* 12*th September*, 1814."

# APPENDIX.

*Lettre du* Baron Radet, *Lieutenant-Général de Gendarmerie, au* Pape Pie VII. ; *suivie d'une Relation sur l'Enlèvement de ce Pontife.*

Très-Saint Père,

Des écrits fort répandus ont peint ma conduite envers votre Sainteté comme celle d'un homme sans principes, sans mœurs, sans religion, et qui, dans une circonstance déplorable, a manqué au saint respect et aux égards dus au caractère sacré dont votre Sainteté est revêtue.

D'un autre côté, des rapports, non moins mensongers, m'ont représenté comme coupable du crime de lèse-majesté pour avoir, dit-on, opéré *sans ordres* l'arrestation de votre Auguste Personne, et pour avoir usé envers elle d'une sévérité aussi criminelle qu'inutile.

On a poussé plus loin l'injustice ; on a osé écrire, imprimer, et affirmer à l'Europe étonnée que j'avais fait démolir ou brûler une partie du Quirinal ; que je m'étais emparé de votre Sainteté avec moins d'attentions qu'on en mettrait à se saisir de ces individus qui sont le vil rebut de la société ; que je l'avais fait lier avec des cordes, et descendre par une fenêtre du haut du Quirinal. Enfin on a surchargé cet événement funeste de circonstances les plus odieuses afin d'égarer l'opinion et d'enlever l'estime publique à ceux que le malheur de leur position a forcé d'y prendre part.

On a même été jusqu'à dire que j'avais fait piller par une soldatesque effrénée le Quirinal, la Sainte Chapelle, et la chambre de votre Sainteté.

Ces calomnies, répétées dans des brochures qui ont été répandues avec profusion, n'ont peut-être pas pour objet de me charger de l'animadversion universelle, mais j'en suis la victime : j'y vois mon honneur compromis, et ce motif a été plus que suffisant pour me déterminer à repousser ces injustes accusations.

Pour l'acquit de mon devoir et pour ma justification j'ai cru devoir rédiger une relation fidèle de cet événement malheureux, qui fait autant d'honneur à votre Sainteté que de prosélytes à la religion, et je l'ai remise au Ministre de la Guerre avec prière de la placer sous les yeux de mon souverain.

Je prends la liberté d'en déposer une copie au pied du trône de votre Sainteté ; je la supplie très-humblement de jeter un regard de bonté sur les faits qu'elle contient et de daigner rendre témoignage à la vérité.

La postérité jugera cet événement terrible, et s'il importe qu'il lui parvienne dégagé de toutes les circonstances enfantées par l'erreur ou la malignité, il m'importe beaucoup plus de ne pas perdre le fruit de mes services, la confiance de mon souverain, et l'estime de mes contemporains.

Daignez, Très-Saint Père, venir au secours de l'honneur d'un de vos enfans qui, dans sa position malheureuse, se compte encore pour un dédommagement le bonheur qu'il a eu de contempler de près une vertu plus qu'humaine.

En m'humiliant aux pieds de votre Sainteté, permettez, Très-Saint Père, que j'y dépose l'hommage de ma profonde vénération et que j'y sollicite avec onction votre bénédiction apostolique.

Je suis, avec le plus profond respect,
Très-Saint Père, de votre Sainteté
Le très-humble, très-soumis, et très-obéissant
Fils et Serviteur,
Le Lieutenant-Général B. RADET.

*Paris, rue Montesquieu, N.* 7,
*le* 12 *Septembre*, 1814.

*Relation exacte et détaillée de l'Enlèvement du* PAPE PIE VII. *et de son Voyage jusqu'à Florence, par le* BARON RADET, *Lieutenant-Général de Gendarmerie.*

En ma qualité d'inspecteur-général, j'étais chargé de l'organisation de la gendarmerie en Toscane; je me trouvais en tournée dans le département de l'Arno, et précisément à Pescia, lorsque je reçus de l'Empereur un ordre télégraphique de Schœnbrun, que le Prince Borghese me transmit par un courrier extraordinaire. Cet ordre portait qu'à l'instant de sa réception, je devais partir pour Rome et me faire suivre avec célérité par les 400 gendarmes à cheval qui m'avaient été envoyés, peu auparavant, des légions de l'intérieur.

Je partis sans délai, accompagné seulement de deux sous-officiers.

N'ayant pas d'instruction, je me persuadai d'autant mieux que j'étais envoyé pour le rétablissement de l'ordre, que je venais d'organiser la gendarmerie du royaume de Naples et celle du Grand Duché de Toscane. Dans cette supposition vraisemblable, j'établis provisoirement quelques moyens de police sur la route, laissant à chaque poste désigné des ordres pour que le Colonel Costé, qui me suivait, établit le service selon les instructions jointes à ses ordres.

J'arrivai à Rome dans la nuit du 12 au 13 Juin, 1809, je communiquai mes ordres à Monsieur le Général Comte Miollis, Gouverneur-Général de Rome, des Etats Romains, et Président de la Consulte.

Ce Général, en me faisant connaître l'état des choses, me donna les siens sur mon service et me chargea de la direction général de la police des Etats Romains.

Le changement de gouvernement, les protestations de sa Sainteté, et notamment les bulles d'excommunication des 10 et 11 Juin, 1809, faisaient dans l'esprit public une sensation profonde. L'action du gouvernement ancien se trouvant paralysée, et beaucoup

d'intérêts froissés par la naissance du nouveau, il s'en suivit une espèce d'interrègne et une suspension dans le pouvoir exécutif, qui donnèrent lieu au désordre et au brigandage, que favorisent le climat et la nature du pays.

Des mesures furent prises, mais une flotte Anglo-Sicilienne considérable, avec des troupes de débarquement, parut vers la fin de Juin à la vue de Rome, et y louvoya pendant trois jours; alors les troupes que nous avions dans les Etats Romains furent réunies sur les hauteurs au-delà de Velletri, et marchèrent sur Naples, lorsque peu de jours après cette flotte s'empara des Iles de Capri, Ischia, et Procida.

Cependant la vue de cette flotte et le départ des troupes avaient donné d'autant plus d'audace au brigandage, que n'étant plus comprimé, il se répandit partout en un instant; des bandes considérables ravageaient le pays, notamment vers les Abruzzes sur Piperno, Frosinone, Norcia, &c. Aucune route n'était libre; partout, et jusque dans la ville de Rome, les vols étaient si fréquens, que la Consulte voulait porter son siège à Spoleto; il ne nous était resté dans Rome que 500 hommes de garnison et 100 gendarmes à cheval: avec d'aussi faibles moyens nous étions dans l'impossibilité de prendre aucune mesure efficace de répression.

A cette époque l'Empereur était sur le Danube, à la veille des plus grands événements; l'Italie était sans troupes; la Bavière s'insürgeait, le Tyrol soulevé portait ses ravages sur Ferrare, Bologne, dans le Duché d'Urbino, et jusqu'aux portes de Florence. La bataille de Wagram eut lieu; la paix s'en suivit, et l'on sait, malgré cette paix, tout ce qu'il en a coûté pour rétablir l'ordre.

D'après ce tableau succinct, on peut juger de notre situation à Rome, et des moyens de vigilance que nous déployâmes pour nous y maintenir, surtout aux époques de la S. Jean et de la S. Pierre; cependant le Gouverneur-Général, voyant l'inquiétude à son comble, me fit appeler le 4 Juillet dès le matin, et entrant dans les détails de notre position, il représenta les suites de l

fermentation générale qui se manifestait sous les caractères les plus alarmans et qui compromettait au dernier degré la sûreté publique et le sort des Français en Italie ; il exposa surtout, qu'il avait épuisé déjà tous les moyens de sévérité pour rétablir le calme, et qu'il lui ne restait plus d'autres que d'éloigner sa Sainteté de Rome, me déclarant en conséquence qu'il m'avait choisi pour cette importante opération.

Je lui fis observer qu'un acte de cette nature ne se faisait pas sans des ordres supérieurs par écrit, sans de mûres réflexions et sans troupes : il me répondit que j'aurais, ce soir même, des ordres par écrit, des troupes, et qu'il fallait m'occuper des dispositions de manière à éviter jusqu'au soupçon. Je me retirai fort ému de me voir chargé de cette entreprise ; je m'enfermai pour réfléchir à ce que je pourrais opposer à l'effet qu'elle devait produire, mais des ordres par écrit m'étant annoncés, je me trouvai dans la cruelle alternative ou de franchir les droits les plus sacrés, ou de violer mes sermens par la désobéissance. Oppressé par un sentiment pénible de répugnance mêlé de crainte, plus je cherchais les moyens d'éluder, et moins mon imagination me servait ; ma seule espérance reposait sur le défaut de troupes, pour me dispenser d'exécuter cet ordre, lorsque vers le soir le Gouverneur-Général vint m'annoncer que dans la nuit il arrivait des troupes Napolitaines ; qu'il fallait m'occuper de mon plan d'opération et faire toutes mes dispositions pour la nuit suivante.

Je fis de nouvelles observations au Général, qui, après m'avoir retracé les dangers de notre position, la nécessité d'arrêter, par un coup de foudre, le torrent du désordre et l'effusion du sang, m'objecta que, comme militaires, nous étions essentiellement obéissants, passifs, et responsables, sur notre tête, de l'exécution des ordres suprêmes qui nous étaient donnés ; je n'avais rien à répondre. L'honneur et mes sermens me dictèrent mon devoir, et je me décidai à exécuter les ordres que je recevrais par écrit, dès que la troupe serait arrivée.

En effet, il arriva dans la nuit un bataillon de recrues Napoli-

taines d'environ 800 hommes, dont une partie n'était pas armée; j'en fus prévenu, et il n'y avait plus à reculer: alors je fis le plan de mes dispositions: j'imaginai un prétexte adaptable à un aussi grand objet pour n'avoir à mettre personne dans la confidence et pour faire agir, comme à leur insu, toutes les personnes dont j'avais besoin. Je communiquai mon plan au Gouverneur-Général Miollis; il l'approuva verbalement et m'observa combien la réussite en était importante.

Le 5 à la pointe du jour, je fis les dispositions matérielles nécessaires que je parvins à soustraire aux yeux du public, par des petites patrouilles croisées et des mesures de police; je retins tout le jour les troupes dans les casernes pour donner plus de sécurité au public et dans le palais Quirinal; enfin j'employai tous les prétextes et les moyens propres à éviter jusqu'au soupçon. A neuf heures du soir, je fis venir l'un auprès l'autre, les chefs militaires, à qui je donnai mes ordres. A dix heures tout était réuni sur la place des Saints Apôtres et à la caserne de la Pilotta, non loin de Monte Cavallo, où allait être le centre de mes opérations.

Je me rendis à la Pilotta où je vérifiai l'exécution de mes ordres; de là tout près, sur la place des Saints Apôtres où je fis mes dispositions militaires et je remontai chez moi avec deux principaux chefs: "le Colonel Siry, commandant de la place, et le Colonel Costé, commandant de la gendarmerie." Le Gouverneur-Général m'y attendait; je lui fis part de mes dispositions, je lui demandai et il me remit *l'ordre par écrit* d'arrêter le Cardinal Pacca, et, en cas d'opposition de la part du Pape, d'arrêter aussi sa Sainteté et de les conduire à Florence. A la lecture de cet ordre conditionnel je voulus faire des observations, mais il n'était plus temps; le Gouverneur-Général était sorti, il était 11 heures et tout était organisé et prêt à agir; alors je descendis à la Pilotta et aux Saints Apôtres où je pris et fis placer moi-même mes patrouilles, mes gardes, mes postes, et mes détachemens d'opération, pendant que le Gouverneur-Général, pour contenir les Transtéverins, faisait occuper les ponts du Tibre et le Château

Saint Ange, par le petit bataillon Napolitain aux ordres du Général Pignatelli Cerchiara.

Chaque chef des détachemens qui devaient concourir à l'ensemble de l'opération était prévenu de l'instant et du signal convenu pour l'escalade; une heure après minuit à l'horloge du Quirinal, était le moment fixé pour agir spontanément, mais un incident retarda l'opération. J'appris qu'un des officiers de la garde du Pape était en vedette sur la tour saillante près de la grande porte d'entrée du Quirinal, et que chaque nuit l'on prenait cette mesure de surveillance, qui cessait à la pointe du jour. Alors je changeai l'ordre; je subdivisai mes postes des environs de la fontaine de Trevi; j'envoyai garder les portes des églises principales environnantes, pour prévenir le tocsin; je guettai la rentrée de l'officier en sentinelle sur la tour, et à deux heures 35 minutes, je donnai le signal.

Pendant qu'un détachement de 30 hommes escaladait les murs du jardin près de la grande porte derrière la cour de la *Pannetterie*, pour garder les issues de cette cour et les passages des souterrains à l'angle de la S. Chapelle, un autre détachement de 25 hommes gardait la petite porte derrière dans la rue qui descendit *al Lavatojo*; le Colonel Siry, avec un détachement de 50 hommes, montait par la fenêtre d'une chambre non occupée dans le centre des bâtimens attenants au Quirinal, où logeait la majorité des gens du service du Souverain Pontife. De mon côté j'avais 40 hommes, avec lesquels je me proposais de monter par l'extrémité de la toiture de la *Datarie*, sur la tour, pour de là pénétrer dans les appartemens, mais deux échelles ayant cassé, je dus chercher à entrer par la grande porte du palais Quirinal. Le Gouverneur-Général ayant appris mon incident, vint en capote, avec un de ses aides-de-camp, Guyon, pour m'aider de ses conseils; mais voyant les nouvelles mesures que je prenais, il se retira dans un bâtiment dépendant du palais Colonna, où était la garde ordinaire sous les armes, en face du Quirinal.

Le Colonel Siry parvint à pénétrer dans la grande cour du

palais; j'entendis du bruit et des cris d'alarme, à travers lesquels je distinguai ceux-ci : "*All' arme! Traditori!*" L'horloge sonna trois heures, et la cloche de la S. Chapelle fut mise en branle: cette sonnerie fit craindre autour de moi que ce fût le signal du tocsin, mais elle cessa au bout de deux minutes. Je rassurai les esprits, et j'envoyai chercher 20 des 25 hommes placés à la porte *del Lavatojo*, par laquelle ils n'avaient pu pénétrer, l'ayant trouvée murée à l'intérieur.

J'étais occupé à me procurer de force l'ouverture de la petite porte pratiquée dans l'un des battants de la porte cochère du palais Quirinal, lorsque le Colonel Siry, parvenu dans la cour intérieure, envoya dégager cette porte et me fournit ainsi l'entrée du palais. Je rassemblai aussitôt mon détachement fortifié de 20 hommes, et je le réunis au sien, je fis placer une garde à l'entrée, et je marchai droit à un gros d'ouvriers, qui, dans l'angle à droite du fond de la cour, me parut vouloir se défendre; je le fis disperser, et je montai d'appartement en appartement jusqu'à l'antichambre de la salle du trône, dite *des sanctifications*. Là je trouvai la Garde Suisse de sa Sainteté, forte de 40 hommes, y compris le capitaine, tous armés et rangés en bon ordre dans le fond de la pièce; je fis entrer ma troupe, je sommai les gardes de mettre bas les armes; ils ne firent aucune résistance: je les fis désarmer, conduire, et garder à vue dans leur propre corps de garde.

Je passai par le tambour de cette pièce dans la grande salle du trône, où plusieurs portes s'offrirent à ma vue; j'avais près de moi un homme de confiance qui, connaissant l'intérieur du palais, m'indiqua celle qui conduisait à l'appartement du Pape, par lequel il fallait passer pour arriver à celui du Cardinal Pacca. Me sentant près de sa Sainteté, je frappai à cette porte; personne ne se présenta; je frappai de nouveau, en demandant au nom de l'Empereur qu'elle me fût ouverte; même silence.

Les momens étaient pressans et je m'occupais de chercher d'autres moyens pour arriver jusqu'au Cardinal Pacca, sans passer près de sa Sainteté, lorsque j'intendis le bruit d'une clef, que de

l'intérieur l'on plaçait dans la serrure : en effet, le pan raisonne, et la porte s'ouvre : un prêtre jeune et grand, vêtu de noir, se présente : je lui demande son nom. " Pacca," répondit-il. " Son Eminence ?" lui dis-je. " Non : son neveu." Au nom de Pacca, je ne pus me défendre d'un mouvement intérieur, qui m'avait fait naître l'espoir de terminer là l'objet de ma mission. Je lui demande où est le Cardinal ; il s'inclina et recula près de la cloison en gardant un silence facile à interpréter. J'avance un pas, je jette la vue à gauche, et j'aperçois au bout d'un petit corridor assez étroit, une chambre où il y avait de la lumière, et du monde debout. Je dirige mes pas vers cette pièce ; chemin faisant je distinguai des ecclésiastiques vêtus de différentes couleurs, mais simplement ; aussitôt je mis le chapeau à la main. Arrivé sur la porte d'entrée de cette chambre, je vis sa Sainteté assise à son bureau vêtue de ses habits pontificaux ; et dans la chambre environ une dixaine de personnes, la plupart avec des figures vénérables, que je supposai être Ministres, grands Dignitaires, ou Prélats de sa Sainteté.

Que tout autre se mette dans cette position, et à moins d'avoir perdu tout sentiment moral et humain, il jugera de l'état pénible de ma situation. Je n'avais pas encore d'ordre de m'emparer de la personne du Pape ; un saint respect pour cette tête sacrée, doublement couronnée, remplissait tout mon être et toutes mes facultés intellectuelles. Me trouvant devant elle, suivi d'une troupe armée, un mouvement oppressif et spontané se fit sentir dans tous mes membres : je n'avais pas prévu cet incident, et je ne savais comment me tirer de là ? que faire ? que dire ? par où commencer ? voilà le difficile de ma mission.

Ma troupe entrait avec moi ; la présence du Saint Père, de son sacré Collége, et le lieu saint où je me trouvais, exigeaient le respect et la décence ; je me retournai, je commandai que l'on reconduisît et plaçât en ordre la troupe dans la salle du trône, et que des patrouilles en fussent détachées pour le maintien de l'ordre dans le palais. Fort embarrassé du parti à prendre pour

ne compromettre ni le succès, ni le Gouverneur, ni moi-même, je profitai du mouvement retrograde de ma troupe pour envoyer en toute hâte le Maréchal des Logis de Gendarmerie, Cardini, prévenir le Gouverneur-Général, que j'étais en présence du Pape, sans avoir pu parvenir jusqu'au Cardinal Pacca, que je ne connaissais pas, et demander ses ordres. Je prolongeai le mouvement de ma troupe, je ne laissai près d'elle qu'un petit nombre d'officiers; je fis entrer le surplus près de moi ainsi que les sous-officiers de gendarmerie; ils entrèrent avec la plus grande honnêteté, le chapeau à la main, et s'inclinant devant le Pape, à mesure que chacun allait prendre place pour former la haye devant l'entrée intérieure de la pièce; toute cette ordonnance dura cinq minutes environ, lorsqu'arriva le Maréchal des Logis, Cardini, qui me rendit en secret l'ordre du Gouverneur, d'arrêter le Pape avec le Cardinal Pacca, et de les conduire incontinent hors de Rome; tout sévère que me parut cet ordre, il fallait obéir.

Je m'avançai respectueusement de quelques pas plus près du Saint Père, tenant mon chapeau d'une main, et l'autre sur la poitrine, je m'inclinai et je dis à sa Sainteté: "Qu'autant il en coûtait à mon cœur de remplir près d'elle une mission douloureusement sévère, autant mes serments et des devoirs sacrés m'en imposaient l'obligation." A ces mots le Pape se lève, me regarde, et me dit avec cette dignité attendrissante qu'on lui connaît: "Pourquoi venez-vous à cette heure troubler ainsi mon repos et ma demeure? Que voulez-vous?" Je lui répondis: "Très-Saint Père, je viens au nom du gouvernement réitérer à votre Sainteté la proposition de renoncer officiellement à sa souveraineté temporelle." Le Pape sans s'étonner leva les yeux, et me dit en élevant la main: "Je n'ai agi dans tout ce que j'ai fait qu'après avoir invoqué les lumières de l'Esprit Saint, et vous me taillerez plutôt en pièces que de me faire retracter."

Je suppliai sa Sainteté de jetter au dehors un regard attentif, qu'elle verrait partout le désordre et couler le sang de ses enfants; puis j'ajoutai que j'étais persuadé qu'elle voulait prévenir les

horreurs d'une révolte dont le massacre serait le résultat infaillible.

Sa Sainteté me répondit: "Qu'elle désapprouvait tout acte qui tendait à troubler l'ordre public et à répandre le sang humain; qu'elle était innocente et affligée de ce qu'elle apprenait; qu'elle invoquait les secours du Tout-Puissant pour le rétablissement de l'ordre dans sa capitale et dans ses états. Puis elle m'objecta qu'elle était loin de s'attendre à voir tant de maux et à être traité avec autant de mépris et d'ingratitude par le chef d'une nation aimable, auquel elle avait donné de si grandes preuves de son affection particulière." Je répondis que nous ne cessions de révérer sa Sainteté, comme notre Souverain Pontife et de le considérer comme le Chef Suprême de l'Eglise Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine; que telle était la loi, le vœu, et l'ordre de notre souverain; que la religion était gravée dans nos cœurs, avec la crainte, l'amour de Dieu et du prochain. Le Saint Père me répondit: "Au surplus, je lui pardonne, et à tous."

Ne pouvant obtenir l'abdication de la souveraineté temporelle du Saint Père; pressé d'ailleurs par l'arrivée du temps déterminé, je me vis obligé de déclarer à sa Sainteté que j'avais des ordres qui me mettaient dans la douloureuse nécessité de l'emmener hors de Rome. Le Pape me répondit: "Puisqu'il en est ainsi, je cède à la force; mais," me dit-elle, "vous m'accorderez bien à moi et aux personnes qui doivent me suivre, deux heures pour faire nos préparatifs de voyage." Je répondis que je n'avais pas ce pouvoir dans mes instructions, mais que si sa Sainteté daignait donner la liste des personnes qu'elle voulait emmener, je la ferais porter au Gouverneur-Général avec prière de me donner ses ordres. Sa Sainteté qui était debout, se remit à son bureau, écrivit de sa main la liste, et me fit l'honneur de me la confier; aussitôt j'appellai un officier de gendarmerie, nommé Defilippi, à qui, devant le Pape et toutes les personnes présentes, je remis cette liste en le chargeant d'aller la porter à son Excellence le Général Comte Miollis, lui faire part du désir du Saint Père, et

me rapporter ses ordres. Cet officier revint dans moins de dix minutes. J'étais encore près de sa Sainteté, lorsqu'il se présenta et nous rendit tout haut la réponse, que j'avais déjà reçue secrètement par le canal du Maréchal des Logis, Cardini; la voici mot pour mot: "L'ordre de son Excellence le Géneral est qu'il faut que le Pape et le Cardinal Pacca partent à l'instant avec le Général Radet; les autres personnes suivront après."

Je m'inclinai devant sa Sainteté, qui, sans parler, se leva; prit le livre qui était sur son bureau et en descendit la marche. Le Pape était souffrant, je m'avançai et le soutins par le bras; je demandai à sa Sainteté si le Cardinal Pacca était présent? Elle me répondit que oui. Je fis approcher un officier, et le chargeai de prier son Eminence de se préparer de suite au départ: en effet le Cardinal, en simple soutane, passa avec l'officier par la chambre du Pape, qui était la plus voisine derrière le bureau de sa Sainteté, et alla s'habiller dans la sienne, qui n'en était séparée que par une cloison.

J'aidai sa Sainteté à se rendre dans sa chambre, en la soutenant sous le bras. Au moment d'entrer je dus retirer le mien pour laisser au Pape toute la facilité d'entrer, mais sa main se trouvant par hasard dans la mienne, je ne pus résister au sentiment de vénération dont j'étais si fortement pénétré, je baisai pieusement cette main sainte et l'anneau pontifical qu'elle portait.

Le Pape était à l'entrée de sa chambre, j'étais près de lui, le Cardinal était passé, et personne ne nous suivait; je profitai de cet instant pour proposer à sa Sainteté de me retirer et lui laisser la faculté de confier, à qui bon lui semblerait, ses secrets et les choses précieuses auxquelles elle pouvait tenir. Sa Sainteté me répondit: "Quand on ne tient pas à la vie, on est loin de tenir aux biens de ce monde." Le Saint Père souffrant se mit sur sa chaise, à la tête de son lit qui était sans ciel et sans rideaux, et je rentrai dans la chambre d'où je venais de sortir.

Je rejoignis sa Sainteté; je fis prévenir le Cardinal Pacca, que le Saint Père était prêt: son Eminence me suivit avec le Colonel

Costé; le Pape nous attendait debout avec un livre à la main; j'eus l'honneur de lui donner le bras, nous descendîmes et traversâmes la grande cour; arrivés à la porte cochère de la place Montecavallo le Pape s'arrêtat, et bénit Rome. La majorité de ma petite troupe, une portion des patrouilles, et la garde du palais Colonna étaient en bataille sur différens points de cette place; un silence profond régnait, il était quatre heures moins cinq minutes, et la troupe reçut la bénédiction du Saint Père avec un saint respect: il n'y avait pas un seul bourgeois sur la place ni aux fenêtres, du moins aucun ne se fit voir, j'en fus étonné, et je ne le fus pas seul: cet appareil militaire, calme et immobile, était tacitement expressif et inspirait un sentiment plus profond, et donnait une impression moralement plus forte à l'acte, qui par sa nature comportait le double caractère de l'audace et de la vénération.

Ma voiture était là, le Pape s'en approche, le Cardinal Pacca monte le premier; j'aidai le Saint Père à monter, je m'élance ensuite sur le siège, et pendant que le Maréchal des Logis, Cardini, venait se placer à mon côté, j'ordonnai au Colonel Costé de prendre le commandement du Quirinal, et d'y maintenir l'ordre, puis au cocher de nous conduire vers porta Pia, par porta Salara, et le long des murs, hors de la porte du Peuple. Nous partîmes escortés par la gendarmerie: arrivés à la porte du Peuple, nous nous arrêtâmes pour renvoyer mes chevaux et prendre ceux de la poste, qui, en conséquence de mes ordres, se trouvaient là.

Pendant que l'on dételait, je cherchais à distraire sa Sainteté: je demandai si sa Sainteté se trouvait bien, si elle souffrait encore, et si n'étant pas pourvue de ce qui lui était nécessaire, elle daignerait disposer de moi et des provisions que j'avais préparé pour elle et son Eminence le Cardinal Pacca. Le Pape me répondit: " Je suis bien, notre Seigneur a bien autrement souffert:" puis ouvrant sa tabatière où il ne restait que deux prises d'un tabac fin dont elle usait, aussitôt je pris une bouteille de ma provision et j'en mis dans sa boîte: ce devoir, que j'étais

heureux de remplir, parut flatter sa Sainteté; elle m'avoua qu'elle n'avait songé à rien prendre, et tirant une petite pièce d'argent de sa poche, elle eut l'extrême complaisance de me la montrer du bout des doigts, en me disant: "Voilà tout ce que je possède." Je tirai de la poche du siège un sac d'or et d'argent, que je m'empressai d'offrir à sa Sainteté, en lui observant qu'il était à moi, et que je la suppliais d'en disposer pour ses besoins et ses aumônes. Le Pape me remercia, et ce ne fut qu'à la sortie de Radicofani, qu'elle céda à mes instances et en accepta quelque chose pour ses aumônes.

Pendant cet entretien, un officier envoyé du Quirinal vint me rendre compte que les sbirres avaient été surpris à piller la Sainte Chapelle, et que le plus grand coupable était arrêté; j'ordonnai qu'il fût mis en prison et traduit à un conseil de guerre. A cet égard le Pape me fit observer que c'était un sbirre, et non un soldat Français, car, dit-il, "un soldat Français n'aurait pas commis un tel crime." Sa Sainteté, toujours pénétrée de son caractère sacré et d'une bonté ineffable, me demanda si dans l'événement, il y avait eu du sang répandu. Je lui répondis: "*Pas la plus petite goutte.*" "Dieu en soit loué," dit elle, et nous partîmes.

## RELATION DU VOYAGE.

J'avais donné des ordres pour qu'une brigade de gendarmes à cheval se trouvât à chaque relais, pour passer ma revue, et que chacune fît tenir des chevaux de poste tout prêts à me conduire; les heures étaient calculées et indiquées pour chaque brigade.

Nous prîmes la route de Florence, escortés par un détachement de la gendarmerie de Rome. Avant d'arriver à la Storta, je fis partir un des gendarmes au galop, pour faire préparer l'escorte et les chevaux de poste; il en fut de même à chaque relais, et par tout mes ordres furent scrupuleusement exécutés. Les postillons de Rome, ayant eu le temps de voir et de connaître le Pape, à la porte du Peuple, se mirent à genoux, demandèrent et

obtinrent la bénédiction de sa Sainteté, au moment où nous partions de la Storta.

Près d'arriver au second relais, sa Sainteté souffrant de sa colique, je fis arrêter la voiture, le Pape descendit et fut soulagé. Sa Sainteté me témoigna de l'inquiétude sur l'arrivée de sa suite ; je la rassurai en lui disant que je ne doutais pas de l'effet de la parole du Général Miollis, et à l'instant je chargeai le sous-officier d'escorte qui retournait à la Storta, d'écrire en mon nom au Général d'envoyer les gens du Pape, et du linge pour sa Sainteté.

Arrivé au relais de la montagne de Viterbe, sa Sainteté et son Eminence descendirent pour prendre quelque chose dans la maison de poste, qui est une auberge isolée et fort mal propre ; j'en fis l'observation à la maîtresse qui servait des œufs, et sans se déconcerter, elle dit au Pape : "Votre Eminence peut manger en toute sûreté ; il est souvent passé ici des personnes de distinction, notamment le Très-Saint Père, à son retour de France, qui a béni notre maison." Elle croyait parler à un Cardinal en faisant un mensonge au Pape.

Nous arrivâmes le même jour, Jeudi, 6 Juillet, 1809, avant dix heures du soir, à la poste de Radicofani, grosse auberge située sur la route, au-dessous du village de ce nom, frontière et dépendant de la Toscane. J'avais remarqué que la vîtesse de notre marche altérait sensiblement le visage du Saint Père, qui souffrait d'ailleurs ; j'étais vivement affecté de sa situation, et je m'affligeais de ce que mes devoirs en imposaient à mes sentiments. Il est dans la vie des instans bien extraordinaires et bien difficiles ; j'en appelle à ceux qui voudront bien approfondir les dangers, les alarmes, et les peines cruelles, qui s'attachaient à ma mission.

Au moment d'arriver, j'envoyai demander des logemens pour deux Cardinaux et leur suite : mon escorte s'avance, fait évacuer le vestibule de l'auberge, la voiture entre jusqu'à la porte de la cuisine, la porte cochère se ferme derrière nous ; je descends, je

donne la main au Chef Suprême de l'Eglise pour monter l'escalier : le Maréchal des Logis avec le Cardinal Pacca nous suivent et vont à la chambre destinée à son Eminence ; j'entre avec sa Sainteté dans celle qu'on lui prépare, et je me mets en devoir de la servir.

Je pourrais ici m'étendre, mais mon cœur s'étant épanché et satisfait je m'en remets à la mémoire du Saint Père pour tout ce que j'ai dit et fait dans cette circonstance : le souvenir du devoir que j'ai rempli, me fait encore jouir du bonheur que j'en éprouvai.

Tout ce que je puis dire, c'est que sa Sainteté me parla plusieurs fois de son inquiétude sur l'arrivée de sa suite ; elle était malade, sans linge, et fatiguée ; je souffrais plus qu'elle de sa situation ; je fis tout pour la tranquilliser. Un courrier passait pour Rome, je le fis arrêter et je lui remis un billet pour le Général Miollis, par lequel je le sommais de sa parole.

Le Pape se sentant affaiblir, me manifesta le désir de passer la nuit dans cette auberge et d'y attendre les voitures de sa suite. Je ne sus que répondre : mais sa Sainteté pouvant tomber dangereusement malade et mourir dans mes bras, si je la forçais à continuer le voyage, je n'y aurais pas survécu : d'ailleurs en entreprenant la mission que je ne pouvais refuser, j'avais fait le sacrifice de ma vie, et à tout événement ma sensibilité l'emporta sur ma responsabilité ; je me décidai : alors sa Sainteté plus calme se mit à prier et je me retirai.

Ce retard ayant laissé passer la nouvelle de l'arrestation du Pape, comme je l'avais prévu, tout le monde du lieu, et des environs, accourait pour le voir, et à cet effet se rassemblait autour de l'auberge. Je pris des mesures pour le repos et la sûreté du Saint Père ; après quoi je remontais et fit placer un matelas devant la porte de sa chambre, sur lequel je passai la nuit.

Le Vendredi 7, dès le matin, je regardai par la fenêtre de l'auberge, et j'ai aperçus un groupe de Religieux sur le côteau entre l'auberge et le village de Radicofani. Je descendis pour m'informer du motif de ce rassemblement ; j'envoyai à cet effet un

sous-officier de gendarmerie parler à ces moines ; ils ne voulurent pas s'expliquer, et je leur fis signifier de se rendre à leur couvent afin qu'on les y trouvât, si le Pape voulait s'y rendre ou y envoyer : ils se retirèrent.

Le Saint Père étant levé j'entrai dans son appartement, je lui présentai mon respect, et m'informai de sa santé : elle me répondit qu'elle avait passé une bonne nuit et qu'elle se portait beaucoup mieux ; je lui demandai ses ordres, et je la laissai prier.

La journée avançait ; sa Sainteté m'ayant encore manifesté son inquiétude sur ce que sa suite n'arrivait pas, j'étais souvent à regarder par la fenêtre donnant sur la route de Rome, que l'on découvre de là à plus de quatre lieues. Vers trois heures, j'aperçus de loin deux voitures. Je courus, plein de joie, en faire part au Pape ; plus elles approchaient, et plus je me persuadais que c'étaient celles de la suite du Saint Père ; j'envoyai un gendarme au-devant pour s'en assurer, je le chargeai de mettre son chapeau sur la pointe de son sabre et de le tenir élevé pour me la faire connaître. En effet, dès que le gendarme eut joint les voitures, il me donna, par ce signal, l'assurance que c'était la suite du Pape, et je courus en rendre compte à sa Sainteté, qui m'en parut fort contente.

Vers quatre heures les voitures arrivent ; dans la première était le Prélat Doria et l'Abbé Pacca, dont j'ai eu l'occasion de parler : dans la seconde étaient le médecin de sa Sainteté, son valet-de-chambre, et des malles et effets. Ces messieurs entrèrent, reçurent la bénédiction, et se rafraîchirent. Je pris les ordres du Pape, et à cinq heures nous partîmes, laissant à la troisième voiture la faculté de venir à son aise. Je pressai d'autant plus le départ que je voulais éviter de passer dans Sienne pendant le cours de la journée. A peine avions nous fait un mille, que des religieux mendians vinrent demander à parler au Pape ; je pris ses ordres, et je fis arrêter la voiture ; les religieux parlèrent à sa Sainteté, et ce fut en cet instant, que je fus assez heureux pour

obtenir que le Saint Père acceptât quelques pièces d'argent pour en faire des aumônes en leur faveur.

Comme notre séjour à Radicofani avait donné le temps d'en répandre la nouvelle, nous trouvions toutes les routes couvertes d'habitans; les villages en étaient encombrés, et notre marche ralentie. Le Saint Père donnait partout sa bénédiction. Au relais de Saint Quirico la multitude était si grande, si empressée, qu'elle monta sur le derrière, sur les roues, le siège, l'impériale de la voiture, et même sur les chevaux, pendant qu'on les attelaient. Mes gendarmes, dans la crainte des accidens, n'osaient trop faire mouvoir leurs chevaux; du siège où j'étais, je voyais arriver de toutes parts des habitans, et la foule augmenter autour de nous; j'examinais les figures les plus mâles, et je prêtais une oreille attentive à leurs discours, mais les cris étaient si multipliés et si confus que l'on n'y pouvait rien comprendre. Cependant une voix un peu plus élévée, prononça distinctement ces mots: "*Bisogna salvarlo,*"—il faut le sauver. Aussitôt je tire mon épée, j'écarte toutes les personnes qui étaient autour de moi sur le siège et sur toutes les parties extérieures de la voiture; j'ordonne aux postillons de faire descendre celles qui étaient montées sur leurs chevaux, et à la gendarmerie d'écarter la multitude pour partir; les fouets claquent, on part miraculeusement sans accidens à travers une foule immense qui se prolongeait fort au loin. A la sortie du village, le chemin fait un courbe, pour adoucir une forte descente: les chevaux ne peuvent, à cause de la multitude, prendre assez de circonférence, et la voiture fut au moment de renverser à l'endroit même le plus dangereux, dans des jardins très-bas, d'une pente excessivement rapide, sans palissades, barrières, ni garde-fous; enfin nous passons à l'aide des gendarmes, qui courant en avant, nous faisaient faire place.

Au relais de Montarone, je fis partir un gendarme avant nous, pour porter mes ordres à la gendarmerie de Sienne; peu d'instans après, un homme de confiance m'apporta réponse à la lettre que,

pendant mon séjour à Radicofani, j'avais écrite à la Grande Duchesse de Toscane. Comme ce monsieur était fatigué et même blessé pour avoir couru en bidet et à toutes selles, il ne put nous suivre long-temps. Nous arrivâmes à Sienne ; nous traversâmes le faubourg et la ville, sans être reconnus : il était près de cinq heures du matin, nous ne vîmes que quelques artisans et autres ouvriers qui paraissaient se rendre au travail, les maisons étaient fermées, et les personnes qui se dirigeaient vers nous, se bornaient à nous regarder avec un air de curiosité, sans même nous saluer.

Pendant qu'on relayait, le capitaine de la gendarmerie de l'Ombrone m'avertit des progrès de la grande insurrection et me prévint que des bandes rôdaient de Monte Pulciano à Sienne, et dans les Maremmes où elles se concertaient avec celles des Etats Romains vers Cava ; que ces bandes avaient devalisé plusieurs voyageurs en plein jour, notamment la veille, sur la route près du relai de Montarone, et qu'il craignait qu'il y en eût quelques unes entre Sienne et Florence, de celles qui rôdaient dans le Casentino. Craignant pour la personne du Pape, celle du Cardinal et leur suite, je pris les measures que je crus les plus efficaces pour parer à tous les événemens.

Le Pape était fatigué et souffrant ; nous descendîmes à la meilleure auberge de Poggibonsi où sa Sainteté pria, déjeuna et se reposa environ trois heures. Après mes ordres donnés et mon service établi, je fus me reposer deux heures. Nous nous levâmes pour déjeuner, nous étions à table, lorsque le camerier du Saint Père, qui voyageait sur le siége de la seconde voiture, vint nous faire part de ce qu'avait dit sa Sainteté, en s'applaudissant de nos soins et de notre complaisance extrême pour elle. Je passai près du Saint Père pour m'informer de son état et prendre ses ordres sur notre départ. Sa Sainteté daigna me témoigner elle même sa satisfaction, me promettre sur ma demande l'honneur de l'accompagner à son retour à Rome, et me dit qu'elle continuerait la route quand je voudrais. Je fis tout préparer. Le Saint Père nous donna et aux gens de la maison,

sa bénédiction ; je lui donnai le bras pour descendre l'escalier et monter en voiture sur le hangar à l'entrée intérieure de l'auberge. Nous sortons et descendons la grande rue assez étroite et d'une descente rapide ; une foule immense remplissait les rues, les fenêtres, les portes et les issues ; il y en avait aux clochers et sur les toits. Le Saint Père lui donna sa bénédiction ; nous arrivons au pont et nous vîmes un rassemblement considérable sur la route, dans les champs, les clos, et les chemins vicinaux par où on accourait en foule de toutes parts. J'estime avoir vu environ trois mille personnes dont plus des trois quarts étaient du sexe féminin.

Comme le pont de Poggibonsi décrit, à cause de la route, un angle en y montant et un en descendant, je dois faire observer que la sortie de ce pont étant obstruée par la foule, les postillons ne purent avec leur six chevaux prendre en devant un tour assez considérable pour maintenir la voiture sur le milieu du pavé de l'extrémité du pont ; il en résulta que tournant trop court, la voiture donna du côté gauche contre l'angle du pont, les chevaux firent force, l'essieu cassa net entre le train et la partie intérieure du moyeu de la grande roue droite, et la voiture versa. Par cette chûte je fus jetté du haut du siége, je me foulai le poignet, et me fis, je ne sais comment, une forte contusion à la jambe droite, dont je porte encore les marques. Cependant plus inquiet de la chûte de sa Sainteté que de la mienne, je me relevai avec effort ; je me portai vers la voiture que l'on relevait, et dont on sortait le Pape et le Cardinal. Mon premier soin fut de demander à sa Sainteté si elle n'avait pas de mal ; aucun, me dit-elle : ni son Eminence. Seulement, ajouta-t-elle, je crois que je vous ai cassé quelque chose dans une petite poche de côté de la voiture. Rassuré par cette réponse, je ne perdis pas de temps, je me portai à celle qui nous suivait, et qui était restée sur le pont ; j'invitai l'Abbé Pacca et le Prélat Doria à descendre pour faire place au Pape et au Cardinal ; ce prélat me fit quelques objections, j'insistai d'une manière pressante, et ces MM. descendirent. Alors je suppliai sa Sainteté

et son Eminence de monter: lorsqu'elles furent placées, je montai moi-même sur le siége à côté du camérier; j'ordonnai au Maréchal de Logis Cardini de faire reconduire ma voiture à la poste pour y être raccommodée, d'y en prendre une autre pour ces deux Messieurs et de venir nous rejoindre en toute hâte.

Au moment de partir, la foule, qui s'était beaucoup augmentée, obstruait tout le passage: quelqu'effort que firent les gendarmes ils ne purent nous faire faire place, tant la foule était immense: un moyen simple nous procura ce que nous ne pouvions obtenir de la force; de toutes parts j'entendais dire quoique confusément: Très-Saint Père, donnez-nous votre sainte bénédiction. Je saisis cette circonstance pour demander au Pape de remplir son vœu: je criai de toute ma voix, "A genoux, à genoux, le Saint Père va donner sa bénédiction:" mais j'avais soin de chercher à dégager nos devants, en criant "Passez à droite," et en indiquant par un signe du bras le lieu où il fallait se porter. Secondé par la gendarmerie, la foule fut s'agenouiller comme je le désirais; alors je criai, *Silence*, et suppliai sa Sainteté de bénir cette foule, ce qu'elle daigna faire en lui disant "Courage et prière, mes enfans." Voyant devant nous le chemin assez dégagé, je profitai du moment où le Saint Père donnait sa bénédiction pour ordonner aux postillons de fouetter et partir, ce qui fut exécuté. Nous allions très-vîte quoiqu'en montant assez rapidement; la multitude nous suivit en courant, jusqu'à ce que désespérant de nous rejoindre, elle s'arrêta et s'en retourna.

Parvenus à environ deux à trois milles du pont, et ne voyant personne qui nous suivît, nous ralentîmes notre marche et attendîmes la seconde voiture qui nous rejoignit peu après, et nous continuâmes notre route.

Arrivés à Saint Casciano, une foule considérable de personnes attendait. Nous traversâmes la ville au pas, à travers la multitude, et ce ne fut pas sans peine que nous parvinmes à nous en dégager; mais les bénédictions du Saint Père nous favorisaient et arrêtaient ensuite tous les groupes et les réunions qu'à chaque instant nous trouvions sur notre route.

Avant d'arriver à la Chartreuse, je trouvai le lieutenant-colonel de gendarmerie le Crosnier qui, venu au-devant de nous, m'instruisit de ce que je devais faire en conséquence des ordres de la Grande Duchesse. Comme on avait eu soin d'écarter tout rassemblement, et de garder libres toutes les avenues, je n'eus qu'à faire monter à la Chartreuse où sa Sainteté et son Eminence furent reçues par le Directeur-Général de la Police de Toscane. Il était nuit, le Directeur-Général de la Police vint me prendre pour me conduire à la Grande Duchesse, et nous partîmes sans qu'on m'accordât le temps de voir sa Sainteté, près de laquelle j'espérais revenir: je vis avec le plus vif regret qu'il en fut décidé autrement.

Au bas de la Chartreuse je montai avec le directeur dans sa voiture, qui, par des chemins de traverse, nous conduisit au palais nommé del Poggio, près de Florence; je fus introduit dans la loge de la Grande Duchesse, à laquelle je rendis compte; elle me fit part de ses intentions en m'objectant que ma présence était necessaire à Rome. Je pris congé d'elle, j'envoyai chercher la voiture que j'avais fait prendre à Poggibonsi; je me reposai à l'auberge l'espace de douze heures et je retournai à Rome sans m'arrêter, sinon à Poggibonsi, où je repris ma voiture raccommodée.

Telle fut ma conduite dans ce grand événement; j'en appelle au témoignage du Général Miollis, à celui de mes collaborateurs et des personnes qui ont vu les faits. J'en appelle surtout au Cardinal Pacca et au Saint Père.

La mission dont j'ai été chargé était de nature à fixer l'attention du monde entier par son importance et par son objet. Les circonstances en ont pu être dénaturées. Je viens de les rétablir dans leur plus exacte vérité, en ce qui concerne la part que j'y ai prise. Obligé par mon état d'exécuter les ordres qui m'étaient donnés par l'autorité supérieure, j'ai fait tout pour en adoucir la rigueur, lorsqu'il m'était impossible d'en suspendre ou d'en arrêter les effets: ce grand devoir que j'avais à remplir m'imposait la double obligation de concilier le respect le plus profond, les soins les plus étendus, la circonspection la plus délicate, avec un minis-

tère rigoureux, et je n'ai rien negligé pour y parvenir. Si le Saint Père n'a point effacé de son souvenir les principales circonstances de ces cruels momens, sa Sainteté se rappellera également la conduite que j'ai observée et les marques d'intérêt qu'elle a bien voulu m'accorder en différentes occasions. Les précautions ont été sévères, mais qu'on se rappelle combien le danger était imminent; que l'on réflechisse surtout à l'immense responsabilité qui pesait sur ma tête et à la certitude que j'avais d'être jugé, moins par la sagesse de mes mesures que par leur succès.

Depuis dix-sept ans que je suis officier général de gendarmerie, mon caractère est trop connu en France, en Italie, et en Allemagne par les missions et les organisations dont j'ai été chargé, pour ne point chercher à conserver intacte la réputation que j'y ai acquise par trente-cinq ans effectifs de bons services et onze campagnes. Mon honneur est l'héritage le plus précieux que je puisse transmettre à ma nombreuse famille, je le lui remettrai, j'ose le dire, dans son integrité. Elle, et tous les amis, de qui j'ai l'avantage d'être bien connu, savent déjà que si j'ai dû prendre un rôle dans le triste événement dont je viens de donner une relation fidèle, ce n'a point été par le choix de ma volonté, mais par le hasard de ma position.

Le Lieuténant-Général des Armées du Roi,

B. RADET.

*Paris, le* 12 *Septembre*, 1814.

THE END.

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